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THE

WORKS

OF THE

Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift,

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK's, DUBLIN.

ARRANGED, REVISED, AND CORRECTED,
WITH NOTES,

By THOMAS SHERIDAN, A. M.

A NEW EDITION,

IN SEVENTEEN VOLUMES.

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THE

TO THE

COUNT DE GYLLENBORG.

SIR, Dublin in Ireland, Nov. 2, 1719.

IT is now about ſixteen years ſince I firſt entertained the deſign of writing a hiſtory of England, from the beginning of William Rufus to the end of queen Elizabeth; ſuch a hiſtory, I mean, as appears to be moſt wanted by foreigners, and gentlemen of our own country; not a voluminous work, nor properly an abridgment, but an exact relation of the moſt important affairs and events, without any regard to the reſt. My intention was to inſcribe it to the king* your late maſter, for whoſe great virtues I had ever the higheſt veneration, as I ſhall continue to bear to his memory. I confeſs it is with ſome diſdain that I obſerve great authors deſcending to write any dedications at all: and for my own part, when I looked round on all the princes of Europe, I could think of none who might deſerve that diſtinction from me beſide the king your maſter; (for I ſay nothing of his preſent Britannick majeſty, to whoſe perſon and character I am an utter ſtranger, and likely to continue ſo) neither can I be ſuſpected of flattery on

* Charles XII. king of Sweden.

this point, ſince it was ſome years after that I had the honour of an invitation to his court, before you were employed as his miniſter in England, which I heartily repent that I did not accept; whereby, as you can be my witneſs, I might have avoided ſome years uneaſineſs and vexation, during the laſt four years of our late excellent queen, as well as a long melancholy proſpect ſince, in a moſt obſcure diſagreeable country, and among a moſt profligate and abandoned people.

I was diverted from purſuing this hiſtory, partly by the extreme difficulty, but chiefly by the indignation I conceived at the proceedings of a faction, which then prevailed; and the papers lay neglected in my cabinet until you ſaw me in England; when you know how far I was engaged in thoughts and buſineſs of another kind. Upon her majeſty's lamented death, I returned to my ſtation in this kingdom; ſince which time there is not a northern curate among you who has lived more obſcure than myſelf, or a greater ſtranger to the commoneſt tranſactions of the world. It is but very lately that I found the following papers, which I had almoſt forgotten. I publiſh them now, for two reaſons; firſt, for an encouragement to thoſe who have more youth *, and leiſure, and good temper than I, towards purſuing the work as far it was intended by me, or as much farther as they pleaſe; the ſecond reaſon is, to have an opportunity of declaring the profound reſpect I have

* The author was then in his fifty-ſecond year.

for

for the memory of your royal maſter, and the ſincere regard and friendſhip I bear to yourſelf; for I muſt bring to your mind how proud I was to diſtinguiſh you among all the foreign miniſters, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. I am a witneſs of the zeal you ſhewed not only for the honour and intereſt of your maſter, but for the advantage of the Proteſtant religion in Germany, and how knowingly and feelingly you often ſpoke to me upon that ſubject. We all loved you, as poſſeſſed of every quality that could adorn an Engliſh gentleman, and eſteemed you as a faithful ſubject to your prince, and an able negociator; neither ſhall any reverſe of fortune have power to leſſen you either in my friendſhip or eſteem: and I muſt take leave to aſſure you farther, that my affection towards perſons has not been at all diminiſhed by the frown of power upon them. Thoſe whom you and I once thought great and good men, continue ſtill ſo in my eyes and my heart; only with a

* * * * * * * * * *

Cætera deſiderantur.

ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the Invaſion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR to WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE moſt ancient account we have of Britain is, that the iſland was full of inhabitants, divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, as moſt nations of the world appear to have been at firſt. The bodies of the Britons were painted with a ſky-coloured blue, either as an ornament, or elſe for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were Heathens, as all the world was before CHRIST, except the Jews.

Their prieſts were called Druids: theſe lived in hollow trees, and committed not their myſteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly loſt.

The Britons had wives in common, ſo many to a particular tribe or ſociety; and the children were in common to that ſociety.

About fifty years before Chriſt, Julius Cæſar, firſt Roman emperor, having conquered Gaul or France, invaded Britain, rather to increaſe his glory than conqueſts; for, having overcome them in one or two battels, he returned.

The next invaſion of Britain by the Romans (then maſters of moſt of the known world) was in the reign of the emperor Claudius; but it was not wholly ſubdued till that of Nero. It was governed by lieutenants, or deputies, ſent from Rome.

Rome, as Ireland is now by deputies from England; and continued thus under the Romans for about 460 years; till, that empire being invaded by the Goths and Vandals, the Romans were forced not only to recall their own armies, but alſo to draw from hence the braveſt of the Britons, for their aſſiſtance againſt thoſe Barbarians.

The Roman conqueſts in this iſland reached no farther Northward than to that part of Scotland where Stirling and Glaſgow are ſeated. The region beyond was held not worth the conquering: it was inhabited by a barbarous people, called Caledonians and Picts; who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infeſted the Britiſh borders. Therefore the emperor Severus built a wall, from Stirling to Glaſgow, to prevent the invaſions of the Picts: it is commonly called the Picts Wall.

Theſe Picts and Caledonians, or Scots, encouraged by the departure of the Romans, do now cruelly infeſt and invade the Britons by ſea and land: the Britons chooſe Vortigern for their king, who was forced to invite the Saxons (a A. D. 455. fierce Northern people) to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe Barbarians. The Saxons came over, and beat the Picts in ſeveral battles; but, at laſt, pick quarrels with the Britons themſelves; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, and eſtabliſh themſelves in ſeven kingdoms in Britain now called England. The ſeven kingdoms are uſually ſtyled The Saxon Heptarchy.

A. D 460. About this time lived king Arthur (if the whole ſtory be not a fable) who was ſo famous for beating the Saxons in ſeveral battles.

The Britons received Chriſtianity very early, and, as is reported, from ſome of the diſciples themſelves: ſo that, when the Romans left Britain, the Britons were generally Chriſtians. But Saxons were Heathens, till pope Gregory the Great ſent over hither Auſtin the monk, by whom E-

A. D. 600. thelbert king of the South Saxons and his ſubjects were converted to Chriſtianity; and the whole iſland ſoon followed the example.

After many various revolutions in this iſland among the kingdoms of the Saxons, Egbert de-

A. D. 800. ſcended from the Weſt-Saxon kings, became ſole monarch of England.

The language in Britain was Britiſh (now called Welſh) or Latin; but, with the Saxons, Engliſh came in, although extremely different from what it is now. The preſent names of towns, ſhires, &c. were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called England from the Angles, who were a branch of the Saxons.

As ſoon as the Saxons were ſettled, the Danes began to trouble and invade them, as they (the Saxons) had before done the Britons.

Theſe Danes came out of Germany, Denmark, and Norway; a rough warlike people, little different from the Saxons, to whom they were nigh neighbours.

After

After many invaſions from the Danes, Edgar king of England ſets forth the firſt navy. He was intitled "King of all Albion" (an old name of this iſland) and was the firſt abſolute monarch. He made peace with the Danes, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the Engliſh.

In this prince's time there were five kings in Wales, who all did him homage for their country.

Theſe Danes began firſt to make their invaſions here about the year 800; which they after renewed at ſeveral times, and under ſeveral leaders, and were as often repulſed. They uſed to come with vaſt numbers of ſhips, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of London, Wincheſter, &c. Encouraged by ſucceſs and prey, they often wintered in England, fortifying themſelves in the Northern parts, from whence they cruelly infeſted the Saxon kings. In proceſs of time they mixed with the Engliſh (as was ſaid before) and lived under the Saxon government: but, Ethelred then king of England, growing weary of the Daniſh inſolence, a conſpiracy is formed, and the Danes maſſacred in one day all over England.

A. D. 978.

Four years after, Sweyn king of Denmark, to revenge the death of his ſubjects, invades England; and after battles fought, and much cruelty exerciſed, he ſubdues the whole kingdom, forcing Ethelred to fly into Normandy.

Sweyn dying, his ſon Canutus ſucceeds in the kingdom; but, Ethelred returning with an army,

Canutus is forced to withdraw to Denmark for ſuccour.

Ethelred dies, and his ſon Edmund Ironſide ſucceeds; but, Canutus returning with freſh forces from Denmark, after ſeveral battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. Edmund dying, his ſons are ſent beyond ſea by Canutus, who now is ſole king of England.

Hardicanute, the laſt Daniſh king, dying without iſſue, Edward, ſon of Ethelred, is choſen king. For his great holineſs, he was ſurnamed the Confeſſor, and ſainted after his death. He was the firſt of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching. He firſt introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the Engliſh gentry, of uſing the French tongue and faſhions in compliance with the king, who had been bred up in Normandy.

The Daniſh government in England laſted but twenty-ſix years, under the three kings.

Edward the Confeſſor married the daughter of earl Godwin, an Engliſh nobleman of great power, but of Daniſh extraction; but, wanting iſſue, he appointed Edgar Atheling, grandſon to his brother, to ſucced him, and Harold, ſon of earl Godwin, to be governor of the young prince. But, upon Edward's death, Harold neglected Edgar Atheling, and uſurped the crown for himſelf.

Edward, while he was in Normandy, met ſo good reception, that it was ſaid he made a promiſe

to that duke, that, in caſe he recovered his kingdom, and died without iſſue, he would leave it to him. Edward dying, William duke of Normandy ſends to Harold to claim the crown; but Harold, now in poſſeſſion, reſolves to keep it. Upon which duke William, having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades England, lands at Haſtings, and ſets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning. To Harold he ſent his meſſenger, demanding the kingdom and his ſubjection: but Harold returned him this anſwer, "That, "unleſs he departed his land, he would make "him ſenſible of his juſt diſpleaſure." So Harold advanced his forces into Suſſex, within ſeven miles of his enemy. The Norman duke, to ſave the effuſion of blood, ſent theſe offers to Harold; "either wholly to reſign the kingdom to him, or to "try the quarrel with him in ſingle combat." To this Harold did not agree.

Then the battle joined. The Normans had gotten the worſt, if it had not been for a ſtratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement Harold was killed, and William duke of Normandy became king of England, under the name of William the Conqueror.

A. D. 1066.

THE REIGN OF

WILLIAM THE SECOND, SURNAMED RUFUS.

AT the time of the Conqueror's death, his eldeſt ſon Robert, upon ſome diſcontent with his father, being abſent in France; William the ſecond ſon, made uſe of this juncture, and without attending his father's funeral, haſtened to England; where, purſuant to the will of the deceaſed prince, the nobility, although more inclined to favour Robert, were prevailed with to admit him king; partly by his promiſes to abate the rigor of the late reign, and reſtore the laws and liberties which had been then aboliſhed, but chiefly by the credit and ſolicitations of Lanfranc; for that prelate had formerly a ſhare in his education, and always a great affection for his perſon. At Wincheſter he took poſſeſſion of his father's treaſure *: in obedience to whoſe command, as well as to ingratiate himſelf with the people, he diſtributed it among churches and religious houſes, and applied it to the redeeming of priſoners, and other acts of popularity.

In the mean time Robert returned to Normandy, took poſſeſſion of that duchy, with great applauſe and content of his people; and, ſpited at the indignity done him by his father, and the uſur-

* Which was ſixty thouſand pounds in ſilver, beſide gold, jewels, and plate. Brompton.

pation

pation of his brother in conſequence thereof, prepared a great fleet and army to invade England; nor did there want any occaſion to promote his intereſt, if the ſlowneſs, the ſoftneſs, and credulity of his nature, could have ſuffered him to make a right improvement of it.

Odo biſhop of Baieux, of whom frequent mention is made in the preceding reign, a prelate of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character being reſtored to his liberty and poſſeſſions in England, grew into envy and diſcontent, upon ſeeing Lanfranc preferred before him by the new king in his favour and miniſtry. He therefore formed a conſpiracy with ſeveral nobles of Norman birth to depoſe the king, and ſent an invitation to Robert to haſten over. Mean time the conſpirators in order to diſtract the king's forces, ſeized on ſeveral parts of England at once; Briſtol, Norwich, Leiceſter, Worceſter, Shrewſbury, Bath, and Durham, were ſecured by ſeveral noblemen: Odo himſelf ſeized Rocheſter, reduced the coaſts of Kent, and ſent meſſages to Robert to make all poſſible ſpeed.

The king alarmed at theſe many and ſudden defections, thought it his beſt courſe to begin his defence by ſecuring the good will of the people. He redreſſed many grievances, eaſed them of certain oppreſſive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his foreſt, with other marks of indulgence, which, however forced from him by the neceſſity of the time, he had the ſkill or fortune ſo to order

as

as they neither loſt their good grace nor effect; for immediately after he raiſed great forces both by land and ſea, marched into Kent, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered Tunbridge and Pevenſey, in the latter of which Odo himſelf was taken priſoner, and forced to accompany the king to Rocheſter. This city refuſing to ſurrender at the king's ſummons, Odo undertook to prevail with the obſtinacy of the inhabitants; but being admitted into the town, was there detained, either by a real or ſeeming force; however, the king provoked at their ſtubbornneſs and fraud, ſoon compelled them to yield, retook his priſoner, and forcing him for ever to abjure England, ſent him into Normandy.

By theſe actions, performed with ſuch great celerity and ſucceſs, the preparations of duke Robert were wholly diſappointed; himſelf, by the neceſſity of his affairs, compelled to a treaty with his brother, upon the terms of a ſmall penſion, and a mutual promiſe of ſucceeding to each other's dominions on failure of iſſue, forced to reſign his pretenſions, and return with a ſhattered fleet to Normandy.

About this time died archbiſhop Lanfranc; by whoſe death, the king, looſed from that awe and conſtraint he was under, ſoon began to diſcover thoſe irregularities of his nature, which till then he had ſuppreſſed and diſguiſed, falling into thoſe acts of oppreſſion and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous. He kept the ſee of Can-

Canterbury four years vacant, and converted the revenues to his own uſe, together with thoſe of ſeveral other biſhopricks and abbies, and diſpoſed of all church preferments to the higheſt bidder. Nor were his exactions leſs upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended tranſgreſſion of certain penal laws, and entertained informers to obſerve mens actions, and bring him intelligence.

It is here worth obſervation, that theſe corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opinion of ſeveral learned men, given riſe to two cuſtoms, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, firſt the ſucceſſors of this king, continuing the cuſtom of ſeizing on the accruing rents in the vacancy of ſees and abbies, it grew in proceſs of time to be exacted as a right, or acknowledgment to the king as founder; whence the revenues of vacant biſhopricks belong at this day to the crown. The ſecond cuſtom had an original not unlike. Several perſons, to avoid the perſecutions of the king's informers, and other inſtruments of oppreſſion, withdrew themſelves and their effects to foreign countries; upon which the king iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all men to leave the kingdom without his licence; from whence, in the judgement of the ſame authors, the writ *ne exeas regno* had its beginning.

By theſe, and the like arbitrary methods, having amaſſed great treaſures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raiſed a powerful army to invade his brother

brother in Normandy; but upon what ground or pretext, the writers of that age are not very exact; whether it were from a principle frequent among unjuſt princes, That old oppreſſions are beſt juſtified by new; or, whether having a talent for ſudden enterpriſes, and juſtly apprehending the reſentment of duke Robert, he thought it the wiſer courſe to prevent injuries, than to revenge them. In this expedition he took ſeveral cities and caſtles from his brother, and would have proceeded farther, if Robert had not deſired and obtained the aſſiſtance of Philip king of France, who came with an army to his relief. King William, not thinking it ſafe or prudent to proceed farther againſt his enemy, ſupported by ſo great an ally, yet loth to loſe the fruits of his time and valour, fell upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever practiſed oftener, or with greater ſucceſs, and that was, to buy off the French king with a ſum of money. This had its effect; for that prince, not able to oppoſe ſuch powerful arms, immediately withdrew himſelf and his forces, leaving the two brothers to concert the meaſures of a peace.

This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the ſide of king William; for he kept all the towns he had taken, obliged his brother to baniſh Edgar Atheling out of Normandy, and for a farther ſecurity brought over with him to England the duke himſelf to attend him in his expedition againſt Malcolm king of Scotland, who, during his abſence, had invaded the borders. The king,

king, having raiſed great forces both by ſea and land, went in perſon to repel the inroads of the Scots: but the enterpriſe was without ſucceſs; for the greateſt part of his fleet was deſtroyed by a tempeſt, and his army very much diminiſhed by ſickneſs and famine, which forced him to a peace of little honour; by which, upon the condition of homage from that prince, the king of England agreed to deliver him up thoſe twelve towns (or manours) in England which Malcolm had held under William the Conqueror; together with a penſion of twelve thouſand marks.

At this time were ſown the ſeeds of another quarrel between him and duke Robert, who ſoliciting the king to perform ſome covenants of the laſt peace, and meeting with a repulſe, withdrew in great diſcontent to Normandy.

King William, in his return from Scotland, fell dangerouſly ſick at Gloceſter, where, moved by the ſeaſonable exhortations of his clergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to diſcover great marks of repentance, with many promiſes of amendment and retribution, particularly for his injuries to the church. To give credit to which good reſolutions, he immediately filled ſeveral vacant ſees, giving that of Canterbury to Anſelm, a foreigner of great fame for piety and learning. But as it is the diſpoſition of men who derive their vices from their complexions, that their paſſions uſually beat ſtrong and weak with their pulſes, ſo it fared with this prince; who, upon recovery of his

his health, ſoon forgot the vows he had made in his ſickneſs, relapſing with greater violence into the ſame irregularities of injuſtice and oppreſſion, whereof Anſelm, the new archbiſhop, felt the firſt effects. This prelate, ſoon after his promotion, offered the king a ſum of money by way of preſent; but took care it ſhould be ſo ſmall, that none might interpret it to be a conſideration of his late preferment. The king rejected it with ſcorn; and as he uſed but little ceremony in ſuch matters, inſiſted in plain terms for more. Anſelm would not comply; and the king enraged, ſought all occaſions to make him uneaſy; until at length the poor archbiſhop, tired out with perpetual uſurpations (or at leaſt what was then underſtood to be ſuch) upon his juriſdiction, privileges, and poſſeſſions, deſired the king's licence for a journey to Rome; and upon a refuſal, went without it. As ſoon as he was withdrawn, the king ſeized on all his revenues, converting them to his own uſe, and the archbiſhop continued an exile until the ſucceeding reign.

The particulars of this quarrel between the king and archbiſhop, are not, in my opinion, conſiderable enough to deſerve a place in this brief collection, being of little uſe to poſterity, and of leſs entertainment; neither ſhould I have mentioned it at all, but for the occaſion it gives me of making a general obſervation, which may afford ſome light into the nature and diſpoſition of thoſe ages. Not only this king's father and himſelf, but the princes

for

for ſeveral ſucceſſions, of the faireſt character, have been ſeverally taxed for violating the rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogether without reaſon. It is true, this character has made the lighter impreſſion, as proceeding altogether from the party injured, the contemporary writers being generally churchmen: and it muſt be confeſſed, that the uſurpations of the church and court of Rome, were in thoſe ages riſen to ſuch heights, as to be altogether inconſiſtent either with the legiſlature or adminiſtration of any independent ſtate; the inferior clergy, both ſecular and regular, inſiſting upon ſuch immunities as wholly exempted them from the civil power; and the biſhops removing all controverſies with the crown by appeal to Rome: for they reduced the matter to this ſhort iſſue, That GOD was to be obeyed rather than men; and conſequently the biſhop of Rome, who is CHRIST's repreſentative, rather than an earthly prince. Neither does it ſeem improbable, that all Chriſtendom would have been in utter vaſſalage, both temporal and ſpiritual, to the Roman ſee, if the Reformation had not put a ſtop to thoſe exorbitancies, and in a good meaſure opened the eyes of thoſe princes and ſtates, who ſtill adhere to the doctrines and diſcipline of the church.

While the king continued at Glouceſter, Malcolm king of Scotland came to his court, with intentions to ſettle and confirm the late peace between them. It happened that a controverſy aroſe about ſome circumſtances relating to the homage

which Malcolm was to pay; in the managing whereof king William diſcovered ſo much haughtineſs and diſdain, both in words and geſtures, that the Scottiſh prince, provoked by ſuch unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation; but ſoon came back at the head of a powerful army, and, entring Northumberland with fire and ſword, laid all waſte before him. But as all enterprizes have in the progreſs of them a tincture of thoſe paſſions by which they were ſpirited at firſt, ſo this invaſion begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable paſſion, was carried on with equal precipitation, and proved to be ruinous in the event; for Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, to prevent the deſtruction of his own country where he had great poſſeſſions, gathering what forces he could ſuddenly raiſe, and without waiting any directions from the king, marched againſt the Scots, who were then ſet down before Alnwick caſtle: there, by an ambuſh, Malcolm and his eldeſt ſon Edward were ſlain, and the army, diſcouraged by the loſs of their princes, entirely defeated. This diſaſter was followed in a few days by the death of queen Margaret, who, not able to ſurvive her misfortunes, died for grief. Neither did the miſeries of that kingdom end, till, after two uſurpations, the ſurviving ſon of Malcolm, who had fled to England for refuge, was reſtored to his crown by the aſſiſtance of king William.

About this time the hidden ſparks of animoſity between the two brothers, buried, but not extin-

guiſhed, in the laſt peace, began to flame out into new diſſenſions: duke Robert had often ſent his complaints to the king for breach of articles, but without redreſs; which provoked him to expoſtulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the king in plain terms with injuſtice and perjury; but no men are found to endure reproaches with leſs temper than thoſe who moſt deſerve them: the king, at the ſame time filled with indignation, and ſtung with guilt, invaded Normandy a ſecond time, reſolving to reduce his brother to ſuch terms as might ſtop all farther complaints. He had already taken ſeveral ſtrong holds, by force either of arms or of money, and intending intirely to ſubdue the duchy, gave orders to have twenty thouſand men immediately raiſed in England, and ſent over to him. The duke, to defend himſelf againſt theſe formidable preparations, had recourſe again to his old ally the king of France, who very readily advanced with an army to his aſſiſtance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own account; for, beſide the appearance of glory and juſtice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle, by preſerving his neighbouring ſtate in the hands of a peaceful prince, from ſo powerful and reſtleſs an enemy as the king of England; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain: for king William, either loth to engage in a long and dangerous war, or haſtened back by intelligence of ſome troubles from Wales, ſent officers to his army, juſt ready to embark for Normandy, that

upon payment of ten ſhillings a man they might have leave to return to their own homes. This bargain was generally accepted; the money was paid to the king of France, who immediately withdrew his troops; and king William, now maſter of the conditions, forced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before.

In this paſſage there are ſome circumſtances which may appear odd and unaccountable to thoſe who will not give due allowance for the difference of times and manners; that an abſent prince, engaged in an unjuſt war with his own brother, and ill-beloved at home, ſhould have ſo much power and credit, as by his commiſſion to raiſe twenty thouſand men on a ſudden, only as a recruit to the army he had already with him; that he ſhould have a fleet prepared ready, and large enough to tranſport ſo great a number; that upon the very point of embarking he ſhould ſend them ſo diſgraceful an offer; and that ſo great a number of common ſoldiers ſhould be able and willing to pay ſuch a ſum of money, equal to at leaſt twelve times as much in our times, and that after being thus deluded and ſpoiled at once, they ſhould peaceably diſband and retire to their ſeveral homes. But all this will be leſs difficult to comprehend, when we reflect on the method of raiſing and ſupporting armies, very different from ours, which was then in uſe, and ſo continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the king in his wars, with a proportioned number

number of ſoldiers, who were their tenants on eaſy rents in conſideration of military ſervice. This was but the work of a few days, and the troops conſiſted of ſuch men as were able to maintain their own charges either at home or abroad: neither was there any reaſon to apprehend that ſoldiers would ever become inſtruments for introducing ſlavery, who held ſo great a ſhare in the property.

The king, upon his return from Normandy, made an unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Welſh, who upon the advantages of his abſence had, according to their uſual cuſtom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of Cheſter, Shrewſbury, and Hereford. Upon the king's approach they fled into their faſtneſſes among the mountains, where he purſued them for ſome time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loſs of great numbers of his men, to no purpoſe. From hence he was recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home; for Robert earl of Northumberland, overrating his late ſervices againſt the Scots, as much perhaps and as unjuſtly as they were undervalued by the king, refuſed to come to his court, which, in thoſe days, was looked on as the firſt uſual mark of diſcontent in a nobleman; and was often charged by princes as a formal accuſation. The earl having diſobeyed the king's ſummons, and concerted matters with other accomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depoſe king William, and ſet up Stephen earl of Albe-

marle, ſon of a ſiſter to William the Conquerer: but all was prevented by the celerity of this active prince; who, knowing that inſurrections are beſt quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible ſpeed, and ſurprized the rebels at Newcaſtle, took the caſtles of Tinmouth and Bamburg; where the obſtinacy of the defendants provoked him, contrary to his nature, to commit cruelties upon their perſons, by cutting off their hands and ears, and other the like inhumanities. The earl himſelf was taken priſoner as he endeavoured to make his eſcape; but ſuffered no other puniſhment than to be confined for the reſt of his life *.

About this time began the Holy War for the recovering of Paleſtine; which having not been the enterprize of any one prince or ſtate, but that wherein moſt in Chriſtendom had a ſhare, it cannot with juſtice be ſilently paſſed over in the hiſtory of any nation.

Pope Urban the ſecond, in a council at Clermont, made a pathetick exhortation, ſhewing with what danger and indignity to Chriſtendom, the Turks and Saracens had, for ſome ages, not only overrun all Aſia and Africa, where Chriſtianity had long flouriſhed; but had alſo made encroachments into Europe, where they had entirely ſubdued Spain, and ſome other parts; that Jeruſalem, the holy city, where our Saviour did ſo many miracles, and where his ſepulchre ſtill remained, to the ſcandal of the Chriſtian name, lay groaning under

* Which was thirty years.

the

the tyranny of Infidels; that the ſwords which Chriſtian princes had drawn againſt each other, ought to be turned againſt the common enemy of their name and religion; that this ſhould be reckoned an ample ſatisfaction for all their paſt ſins; that thoſe who died in this expedition ſhould immediately go to heaven, and the ſurvivors would be bleſſed with the ſight of our LORD's ſepulchre.

Moved by theſe arguments, and the influence of the perſon who delivered them, ſeveral nobles and prelates immediately took upon them the croſs; and the council diſſolving in this high fit of zeal, the clergy, upon their return home, prevailed ſo far in their ſeveral countries, that in moſt parts of Europe ſome great prince or lord became a votary for The Holy Land; as Hugh the Great, brother to the king of France; Godfrey duke of Lorrain; Reimond count of Toulouſe; Robert duke of Normandy, and many others. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that moſt of theſe noble and generous princes, wanting money to maintain the forces they had raiſed, pawned their dominions to thoſe very prelates who had firſt engaged them in this enterprize: doubtleſs a notable mark of the force of oratory in the churchmen of thoſe ages, who were able to inſpire that devotion into others, whereof they ſeemed ſo little ſenſible themſelves.

But a great ſhare in the honour of promoting this religious war, is attributed to the zeal and induſtry of a certain French prieſt, commonly called

Peter the Hermit; who being at Jeruſalem upon pilgrimage ſome time before, and entering often into private treaty with the patriarch of that city, came back fully inſtructed in all the meaſures neceſſary for ſuch a war: to theſe was joined the artifice of certain dreams and viſions that might paſs for divine admonition: all which, added to the piety of his exhortations, gave him ſuch credit with the pope, and ſeveral princes of Chriſtendom, that he became in his own perſon the leader of a great army againſt the Infidels, and was very inſtrumental for engaging many others in the ſame deſign.

What a ſpirit was thus raiſed in Chriſtendom among all ſorts of men, cannot better be conceived than from the vaſt numbers of theſe warlike pilgrims; who, at the ſiege of Nice, are ſaid to have conſiſted of 600,000 foot, and 100,000 horſe: and the ſucceſs at firſt was anſwerable to the greatneſs of their numbers, the valour of their leaders, and the univerſal opinion of ſuch a cauſe; for, beſide ſeveral famous victories in the field, not to mention the towns of leſs importance, they took Nice, Antioch, and at laſt Jeruſalem, where duke Godfrey was choſen king without competition. But zeal, with a mixture of enthuſiaſm, as I take this to have been, is a compoſition only fit for ſudden enterprizes, like a great ferment in the blood, giving double courage and ſtrengh for the time, until it ſink and ſettle by nature into its old channel: for, in a few years, the piety of theſe adven-

adventurers began to ſlacken, and give way to faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies: however, to this ſpirit of devotion there ſucceeded a ſpirit of honour, which long continued the vein and humour of the times; and the Holy Land became either a ſchool, wherein young princes went to learn the art of war; or a ſcene wherein they affected to ſhew their valour, and gain reputation, when they were weary of peace at home.

The Chriſtians held poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem above eighty years, and continued their expeditions to the Holy Land almoſt as many more, with various events; and after they were entirely driven out of Aſia, the popes have almoſt in every age endeavoured in vain to promote new cruſadoes; neither does this ſpirit ſeem quite extinct among us even to this day; the uſual projects of ſanguine men for uniting Chriſtendom againſt the Turk, being without doubt a traditional way of talk derived to us from the ſame fountain.

Robert, in order to furniſh himſelf out for this war, pawned his duchy to the king for 10,000 marks of gold*; which ſum was levied with ſo many circumſtances of rigor and exaction, towards the church and laity, as very much encreaſed the diſcontents of both againſt the prince.

1099. I ſhall record one act of this king's, which being chiefly perſonal, may paſs rather for a part of his character, than a point of hiſtory.

* Equal to 1,400,400l. as money paſſes now.

As

As he was hunting one day in the New Foreſt, a meſſenger expreſs from Normandy, brought him intelligence, that Helie, count de la Fleche, had laid cloſe ſiege to Mans, and expected to carry the town in a few days. The king leaving his chace, commanded ſome about him to point whereabout Mans lay; and ſo rode ſtraight on without reflection, until he came to the coaſt. His attendants adviſed him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned: "They that love me will follow me." He entered the ſhip in a violent ſtorm; which the mariners beholding with aſtoniſhment, at length in great humility gave him warning of the danger; but the king commanded them inſtantly to put off to ſea, and not be afraid; for he had never in his life heard of any king that was drowned. In a few days he drove the enemy from before the city, and took the count himſelf priſoner; who, raging at his defeat and captivity, exclaimed *, "That this

* There is ſo much pleaſantry and humour, as well as ſpirit and heroiſm in this ſtory, as we have it recorded by William de Malmeſbury, who repreſents the menace as thrown out in the king's preſence, that I ſhall make no apology for ſetting down his words at length. "Author turbarum Helias capitur; cui ad ſe adducto rex ludibundus, "'Habeo te, magiſter, inquit.' At ille, cujus alta nobilitas neſciret "etiam in tanto periculo ſapere; 'Fortuitò, inquit, me cepiſti: ſi "poſſum evadere, novi quid facerem.' Tunc Willielmus, præ "furore ferè extra ſe profitus, & obtuens Heliam, 'Tu, inquit, ne-"bulo, tu quid faceres! Diſcede; abi; fuge. Concedo tibi ut fa-"cias quicquid poteris: et per vultum de Luca, nihil ſi me viceris, "nihil pro hâc veniâ tecum paciſcar." i. e. By the face of St. Luke, if thou ſhouldſt have the fortune to conquer me, I ſcorn to compound with thee for my releaſe.

"blow

"blow was from Fortune; but Valour could make "repriſals, as he ſhould ſhew, if ever he regained "his liberty." This being told the king, he ſent for the count, let him underſtand that he had heard of his menaces; then gave him a fine horſe, bid him begone immediately, and defied him to do his worſt.

It would have been an injury to this prince's memory, to let paſs an action, by which he acquired more honor than from any other in his life, and by which it appeared that he was not without ſome ſeeds of magnanimity, had they been better cultivated, or not overrun by the number or prevalency of his vices.

I have met with nothing elſe in this king's reign that deſerved to be remembered; for, as to an unſucceſsful expedition or two againſt Wales, either by himſelf or his generals, they were very inconſiderable both in action and event, nor attended with any circumſtances that might render a relation of them of any uſe to poſterity, either for inſtruction or example.

His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of caſualty; although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the perſon of a prince is generally leſs ſubject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exerciſe of hunting, in the New Foreſt in Hampſhire, a large ſtag croſſed the way before him; the king, hot on his game, cried out in haſte to Walter Tyrrel, a knight of his attendants, to ſhoot; Tyrrel immediately let fly his arrow,

arrow, which glancing againſt a tree, ſtruck the king through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without ſpeaking a word. Upon the ſurpriſe of this accident, all his attendants, and Tyrrel among the reſt, fled different ways; until the fright being a little over, ſome of them returned; and cauſing the body to be laid in a collier's cart, for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming contemptuous manner to Wincheſter, where it was buried the next day without ſolemnity; and which is worſe, without grief.

I ſhall conclude the hiſtory of this prince's reign, with a deſcription and character of his body and mind, impartially from the collections I have made; which method I ſhall obſerve likewiſe in all the ſucceeding reigns.

He was in ſtature ſomewhat below the uſual ſize, and big-bellied; but he was well and ſtrongly knit. His hair was yellow or ſandy; his face red, which got him the name of Rufus; his forehead flat; his eyes were ſpotted, and appeared of different colours; he was apt to ſtutter in ſpeaking, eſpecially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active, and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good conſtitution of health, and the frequent exerciſe of hunting; in his dreſs he affected gaiety and expence, which having been firſt introduced by this prince into his court and kingdom, grew, in ſucceeding reigns, an intolerable grievance. He alſo firſt brought in among us the luxury and profuſion of great tables. The

was in him, as in all other men, a mixture of virtues and vices, and that in a pretty equal degree; only the misfortune was, that the latter, although not more numerous, were yet much more prevalent than the former. For, being entirely a man of pleaſure, this made him ſacrifice all his good qualities, and gave him too many occaſions of producing his ill ones. He had one very ſingular virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promiſe: he was of undoubted perſonal valour, whereof the writers in thoſe ages produce ſeveral inſtances; nor did he want ſkill and conduct in the proceſs of war. But, his peculiar excellency, was that of great diſpatch; which, however uſually decried, and allowed to be only a happy temerity, does often anſwer all the ends of ſecrecy and counſel in a great commander, by ſurpriſing and daunting an enemy when he leaſt expects it; as may appear by the greateſt actions and events upon the records of every nation.

He was a man of ſound natural ſenſe, as well as of wit and humour, upon occaſion. There were ſeveral tenets in the Romiſh church he could not digeſt; particularly that of the ſaint's interceſſion; and living in an age overrun with ſuperſtition, he went ſo far into the other extreme, as to be cenſured for an Atheiſt. The day before his death, a monk relating a terrible dream, which ſeemed to forbode him ſome misfortune, the king being told the matter, turned it into a jeſt; ſaid, The man was a Monk, and dreamt like a Monk, for lucre ſake;

ſake; and therefore commanded Fitzhamon to give him a hundred ſhillings, that he might not complain he had dreamt to no purpoſe.

His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body, than any original depravity of his mind; for, being of a ſanguine complexion, wholly bent upon his pleaſures, and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expences. To ſupply theſe, the people were perpetually oppreſſed with illegal taxes and exactions; but that ſort of avarice which ariſes from prodigality and vice, as it is always needy, ſo it is much more ravenous and violent than the other; which put the king and his evil inſtruments (among whom Ralph, biſhop of Durham, is of ſpecial infamy) upon thoſe pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagances by all manner of oppreſſion; whereof ſome are already mentioned, and others are too foul to relate.

He is generally taxed by writers for diſcovering a contempt of religion in his common diſcourſe and behaviour; which I take to have riſen from the ſame fountain, being a point of art, and a known expedient for men who cannot quit their immoralities, at leaſt to baniſh all reflection that may diſturb them in the enjoyment, which muſt be done either by not thinking of religion at all; or, if it will obtrude, by putting it out of countenance.

Yet there is one inſtance that might ſhew him to have ſome ſenſe of religion as well as juſtice. When

When two Monks were outvying each other in canting the price of an abbey, he obſerved a third at ſome diſtance, who ſaid never a word; the king demanded why he would not offer; the Monk ſaid, he was poor, and beſides, would give nothing if he were ever ſo rich; the king replied, then you are the fitteſt perſon to have it, and immediatetly gave it him. But this is, perhaps with reaſon enough, aſſigned more to caprice than conſcience; for he was under the power of every humour and paſſion that poſſeſſed him for the preſent; which made him obſtinate in his reſolves, and unſteady in the proſecution.

He had one vice or folly that ſeemed rooted in his mind, and of all others, moſt unbefitting a prince: This was a proud diſdainful manner, both in his words and geſture: and having already loſt the love of his ſubjects by his avarice and oppreſſion, this finiſhed the work, by bringing him into contempt and hatred among his ſervants, ſo that few amoug the worſt of princes have had the luck to be ſo ill-beloved, or ſo little lamented.

He never married, having an invincible abhorrence for the ſtate, although not for the ſex.

He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of Chriſt 1100, Auguſt 2.

His works of piety were few, but in buildings he was very expenſive, exceeding any king of England before or ſince; among which Weſtminſter-Hall, Windſor caſtle, the tower of London, and the

the whole city of Carliſle, remain laſting monuments of his magnificence.

THE REIGN OF
HENRY THE FIRST.

THIS prince was the youngeſt ſon of William the Conqueror, and bred to more learning then was uſual in that age, or to his rank, which got him the ſurname of Beauclerc; the reputation whereof, together with his being born in England, and born ſon of a king, although of little weight in themſelves, did very much ſtrengthen his pretenſions with the people. Beſides, he had the ſame advantage of his brother Robert's abſence, which had proved before ſo ſucceſsful to Rufus; whoſe treaſures he likewiſe ſeized on immediately at his death, after the ſame manner, and for the ſame end, as Rufus did thoſe of his father the Conqueror. Robert had been now five years abſent in the holy war, where he acquitted himſelf with great glory; and although he was now in Apulia, upon his return homeward, yet the nobles pretending not to know what was become of him, and others giving out that he had been elected king of Jeruſalem, Henry laid hold of the occaſion, and calling together an aſſembly of the clergy, nobles, and people of the realm, at London, upon his promiſes to reſtore king Edwards laws, and redreſs the grievances which

which had been introduced by his father and brother, they conſented to elect him king. Immediately after his coronation, he proceeded upon reforming the abuſes of the late reign: he baniſhed diſſolute perſons from the court, who had long infeſted it under the protection and example of Rufus: he reſtored the people to the uſe of lights in the night, which the Conqueror had forbidden, after a certain hour, by the ringing of a bell. Then he publiſhed his charter, and ordered a copy thereof to be taken for every county in England. This charter was in ſubſtance; The freedom of mother church from former oppreſſions; leave to the heirs of nobles to ſucceed in the poſſeſſion of their lands, without being obliged to redeem them, only paying to the king a moderate relief; abolition of fines for licence of marriage to their heireſſes; a promiſe of not refuſing ſuch licence, unleſs the match propoſed be with the king's enemy *, &c. the next of kin to be guardians of the lands of orphans; puniſhments for coiners of falſe money; a confirmation of St. Edward's laws; and a general amneſty.

About the ſame time he performed two acts of juſtice, which, by gratifying the revenge and the love of the people, gained very much upon their affections to his perſon: the firſt was, to impriſon Ralph biſhop of Durham; who having been raiſed by the late king from a mean and ſordid birth, to be his prime confident and miniſter,

* i. e. with a traitor or malecontent.

became the chief inſtrument, as well as contriver, of all his oppreſſions: the ſecond was, in recalling and reſtoring archbiſhop Anſelm; who having been forced by the continual perſecutions of the ſame prince, to leave England, had lived ever ſince in baniſhment, and deprived of all his revenues.

The king had not been many months on his throne, when the news came that duke Robert, returned from the holy land, was received by his ſubjects with great marks of joy and honour, and in univerſal reputation for his valour and ſucceſs againſt the Infidels: ſoon after which, Ralph biſhop of Durham, either by the negligence or corruption of his keepers, eſcaped out of priſon, and fled over to the duke; whom he ſtirred up to renew and ſolicit his pretenſions to the crown of England, by writing to ſeveral nobles, who, either through old friendſhip, or new diſcontent, or an opinion of his title, gave him promiſes of their aſſiſtance, as ſoon as he ſhould land in England: but the duke having returned exceeding poor from the holy land, was not yet in a condition for ſuch an undertaking, and therefore thought fit to defer it to a more ſeaſonable opportunity.

As the king had hitherto, with great induſtry, ſought all occaſions to gratify his people, ſo he continued to do in the choice of a wife. This was Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the late king of Scots; a lady of great piety and virtue; who, by the power or perſuaſion of her friends, was pre-

prevailed with to leave her cloyſter for a crown, after ſhe had, as ſome writers report, already taken the veil. Her mother was ſiſter to Edgar Atheling, the laſt heir male of the Saxon race; of whom frequent mention has been made in the two preceding reigns: and thus the Saxon line, to the great contentment of the Engliſh nation, was again reſtored.

Duke Robert, having now with much difficulty and oppreſſion of his ſubjects, raiſed great forces, and gotten ready a fleet to convey them, reſolved once more to aſſert his title to the crown of England: to which end he had for ſome time held a ſecret correſpondence with ſeveral nobles, and lately received freſh invitations. The king, on the other ſide, who had received timely intelligence of his brother's preparations, gave orders to his admirals to watch the ſea-ports, and endeavour to hinder the enemy's landing: but the commanders of ſeveral ſhips, whether Robert had won them by his bribes, or his promiſes, inſtead of offering reſiſtance, became his guides, and brought his fleet ſafe into Portſmouth, where he landed his men; and from thence marched to Wincheſter, his army hourly encreaſing by great numbers of people, who had either an affection for his perſon, an opinion of his title, or hatred to the king. In the mean time Henry advanced with his forces, to be near the duke, and obſerve his motions; but, like a wiſe general, forbore offering battle to

an invader, until he might do it with manifeſt advantage. Beſides, he knew very well that his brother was a perſon whoſe policy was much inferior to his valour, and therefore to be ſooner overcome in a treaty than a fight: to this end, the nobles on both ſides began to have frequent interviews; to make overtures; and at laſt concert the terms of a peace; but wholly to the advantage of the king, Robert renouncing his pretenſions in conſideration of a ſmall penſion, and of ſucceeding to the crown on default of male iſſue in his brother.

The defection of nobles and other people to the duke was ſo great, that men generally thought if it had come to a battle, the king would have loſt both the victory and his crown. But Robert, upon his return to Normandy after this diſhonourable peace, grew out of all reputation with the world, as well as into perfect hatred and contempt among his own ſubjects, which in a ſhort time was the cauſe of his ruin.

The king having thus, by his prudence, got rid of a dangerous and troubleſome rival, and ſoon after by his valour quelled the inſurrections of the earls of Shrewſbury and Mortain, whom he forced to fly into Normandy, found himſelf in full peace at home and abroad, and therefore thought he might venture a contention with the church about the right of inveſting biſhops; upon which ſubject many other princes at that time had controverſy with their clergy: but, after long ſtruggling in vain,

vain, were all forced to yield at laſt to the decree of a ſynod in Rome, and to the pertinacy of the biſhops in the ſeveral countries. The form of inveſting a biſhop was, by delivery of a ring and a paſtoral ſtaff; which, at Rome, was declared unlawful to be performed by any lay-hand whatſoever; but the princes of Chriſtendom pleaded immemorial cuſtom to authorize them: and king Henry, having given the inveſtiture to certain biſhops, commanded Anſelm to conſecrate them. This the archbiſhop refuſed with great firmneſs, purſuant to what he underſtood to be his duty, and to ſeveral immediate commands of the pope. Both ſides adhering to their own ſentiments, the matter was carried to Rome, where Anſelm went in perſon, by the king's deſire; who, at the ſame time, ſent ambaſſadors thither to aſſert and defend his cauſe; but the pope ſtill inſiſting, Anſelm was forbidden to return to England. The king ſeized on all his revenues, and would not reſtore him, until, upon other conceſſions of the pope, Henry was content to yield up his pretenſions to the inveſtiture; but, however, kept the right of electing ſtill in his own hands.

Whatever might have been the method of electing biſhops, in the more primitive ages, it ſeems plain to me that in theſe times, and ſomewhat before, although the election was made *per clerum & populum*; yet the king always nominated at firſt, or approved afterwards, and generally both, as may be ſeen by the ſtyle in which their elections

ran, as well as by the perſons choſen, who were uſually churchmen of the court, or in ſome employment near the king. But, whether this were a gradual encroachment of the regal upon the ſpiritual power, I would rather leave others to diſpute.

1104. About this time duke Robert came to England, upon a viſit to the king, where he was received with much kindneſs and hoſpitality; but, at the ſame time, the queen had private directions to manage his eaſy temper, and work him to a conſent of remitting his penſion: this was compaſſed without much difficulty: but, upon the duke's return to Normandy, he was ſeverely reproved for his weakneſs by Ralph biſhop of Durham, and the two earls of Mortain and Shrewſbury. Theſe three having fled from England for rebellion, and other treaſons, lived exiles in Normandy; and bearing an inveterate hatred to the king, reſolved to ſtir up the duke to a reſentment of the injury and fraud of his brother. Robert, who was various in his nature, and always under the power of the preſent perſuader, eaſily yielded to their incitements: reproached the king in bitter terms, by letters and meſſages, that he had cozened and circumvented him; demanding ſatisfaction, and withal threatening revenge. At the ſame time, by the advice of the three nobles already mentioned, he began to arm himſelf as formidably as he could, with the deſign to ſeize upon the king's poſſeſſions in Normandy: but as this reſolution was raſhly taken up, ſo it was as faintly purſued,

purſued, and ended in his deſtruction: neither has any prince reaſon to expect better fortune, that engages in a war againſt a powerful neighbour upon the counſel or inſtigation of exiles, who having no farther view than to ſerve their private intereſt, or gratify their revenge, are ſure to ſucceed in one or t'other, if they can embark princes in their quarrel, whom they fail not to incite by the falſeſt repreſentations of their own ſtrength, and the weakneſs of their enemy: for, as the king was now ſettled in his throne too firmly to be ſhaken, ſo Robert had wholly loſt all credit and friendſhip in England; was ſunk in reputation at home; and by his unlimited profuſeneſs, reduced ſo low, that, having pawned moſt of his dominions, he had offered Rouen, his capital city, in ſale to the inhabitants. All this was very well known
1105 to the king, who, reſolving to make his advantage thereof, pretended to be highly provoked at the diſgraceful ſpeeches and menaces of his brother; which he made the formal occaſion of a quarrel: therefore he firſt ſent over ſome forces to ravage his country; and underſtanding that the duke was coldly ſupported by his own ſubjects, many of whom came over to the king's army, he ſoon followed in perſon with more; took ſeveral towns; and placing garriſons therein, came back to England, deſigning with the firſt pretext or opportunity to return with a more potent army, and wholly ſubdue the duchy to his obedience.

Robert, now grown ſenſible of his weakneſs, became wholly diſpirited; and following his bro-

ther into England, in a moſt dejected manner begged for a peace: but the king, now fully determined upon his ruin, turned away in diſdain, muttering at the ſame time ſome threatning words. This indignity rouſed up once more the ſinking courage of the duke; who, with bitter words, deteſting the pride and inſolence of Henry, withdrew in a rage, and haſting back to Normandy, made what preparations he could for his own defence. The king obſerving his nobles very ready to engage with him in this expedition; and being aſſured that thoſe in Normandy would, upon his approach, revolt from the duke, ſoon followed with a mighty army, and the flower of his kingdom. Upon his arrival he was attended, according to his expectation, by ſeveral Norman lords; and, with this formidable force, ſat down before Tenerchebray: the duke, accompanied by the two exiled earls, advanced with what ſtrength he had, in hopes to draw the enemy from the ſiege of ſo important a place, although at the hazard of a battle. Both armies being drawn out in battalia, that of the king's, truſting to their numbers, began the charge with great fury, but without any
1106 order. The duke, with forces far inferior, received the enemy with much firmneſs; and, finding they had ſpent their firſt heat, advanced very regularly againſt their main body, before they could recover themſelves from the confuſion they were in. He attacked them with ſo much courage, that he broke their whole body,

and they began to fly on every ſide. The king believing all was loſt, did what he could by threats and gentle words to ſtop the flight of his men, but found it impoſſible: then he commanded two bodies of horſe, which were placed on either wing, to join, and wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear. The duke, who thought himſelf ſo near a victory, was forced to ſtop his purſuit; and ordering his men to face about, began the fight anew; mean time the ſcattered parts of the main body, which had ſo lately fled, began to rally, and pour in upon the Normans behind, by which duke Robert's army was almoſt encompaſſed; yet they kept their ground awhile, and made ſeveral charges, until at length, perfectly overborne by numbers, they were utterly defeated. There duke Robert, doing all the parts of a great captain, was taken priſoner, together with the earl of Mortain, and almoſt his whole army: for being hemmed in on all ſides, few of them could make their eſcape. Thus, in the ſpace of forty years, 1107 Normandy ſubdued England, and England Normandy; which are events perhaps hardly to be paralleled in any other ages or parts of the world.

The king, having ſtaid awhile to ſettle the ſtate of Normandy, returned with his brother into England, whom he ſent priſoner to Cardiff caſtle, with orders that he ſhould be favourably uſed, which, for ſome time, were duly obſerved; until being accuſed of attempting to make his eſcape (whether

(whether it were real or feigned) he had his eyes put out with a burning baſin, by the king's expreſs commands; in which miſerable condition he lived for ſix and twenty years.

It is belived the king would hardly have engaged in this unnatural and invidious war, with ſo little pretence or provocation, if the pope had not openly approved and ſanctified his cauſe, exhorting him to it as a meritorious action; which ſeems to have been but an ill return from the vicar of CHRIST, to a prince who had performed ſo many brave exploits for the ſervice of the church, to the hazard of his perſon, and ruin of his fortune. But the very bigotted monks, who have left us their accounts of thoſe times, do generally agree in heavily taxing the Roman court for bribery and corruption. And the king had promiſed to remit his right of inveſting biſhops, which he performed immediately after his reduction of Normandy, and was a matter of much more ſervice to the pope than all the atchievements of duke Robert in the Holy Land; whoſe merits, as well as pretenſions, were now antiquated and out of date.

1109. About this time the Emperor Henry V. ſent to deſire Maude the king's daughter in marriage, who was then a child about eight years old: that prince had lately been embroiled in a quarrel with the ſee of Rome, which began upon the ſame ſubject of inveſting biſhops, but was carried to great extremities: for, invading Italy with a mighty army, he took the pope priſoner, forced

him to yield to whatever terms he thought fit to impoſe, and to take an oath of fidelity to him between his hands: however, as ſoon as Henry had withdrawn his forces, the pope aſſembling a council, revoked all his conceſſions, as extorted by compulſion, and raiſed great troubles in Germany againſt the emperor, who, in order to ſecure himſelf, ſought this alliance with the king.

About this time likewiſe died archbiſhop Anſelm, a prelate of great piety and learning; whoſe zeal for the ſee of Rome, as well as for his own rights and privileges, ſhould in juſtice be imputed to the errors of the time, and not of the man. After his death, the king, following the ſteps of his brother, held the ſee vacant five years, contenting himſelf with an excuſe, which looked like a jeſt, That he only waited until he could find another ſo good a man as Anſelm.

In the fourteenth year of this king's reign, the Welſh, after their uſual manner, invaded the Marches with great fury and deſtruction; but the king, hoping to put a final end to thoſe perpetual troubles and vexations given to his kingdom by that unquiet people, went in perſon againſt them with a powerful army; and to prevent their uſual ſtratagem of retreating to their woods and mountains, and other faſtneſſes, he ordered the woods to be cut down, beſet all their places of ſecurity, and hunting them like wild beaſts, made ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that at length obſerving them to fling down their arms, and beg for quarter, he com-

commanded his ſoldiers to forbear; then receiving their ſubmiſſions, and placing garriſons where he thought neceſſary, he returned, in great triumph and ſatisfaction, to London.

1114. The princeſs Maude being now marriageable, was delivered to the emperor's ambaſſador; and for a portion to the young lady a tax was impoſed of three ſhillings upon every hide of land in England, which grew afterwards into a cuſtom, and was in ſucceeding times confirmed by acts of parliament, under the name of "Reaſonable Aid "for marrying the King's Daughter," although levied after a different manner.

As the inſtitution of parliaments in England is agreed by ſeveral writers to be owing to this king, ſo the date of the firſt has been aſſigned by ſome to the fifteenth year of his reign: which however is not to be affirmed with any certainty; for great councils were convoked not only in the two preceding reigns, but for time immemorial by the Saxon princes, who firſt introduced them into this iſland, from the ſame original with the other Gothick forms of government in moſt parts of Europe. Theſe councils or aſſemblies were compoſed according to the pleaſure of the prince who convened them, generally of nobles and biſhops, ſometimes were added ſome conſiderable commoners; but they ſeldom met, except in the beginning of a reign, or in times of war, until this king came to the crown; who being a wiſe and popular prince, called theſe great aſſemblies upon moſt important

portant affairs of his reign, and ever followed their advice; which, if it proved ſucceſsful, the honour and advantage redounded to him; and if otherwiſe, he was free from the blame: thus when he choſe a wife for himſelf, and a huſband for his daughter, when he deſigned his expedition againſt Robert, and even for the election of an archbiſhop to the ſee of Canterbury, he proceeded wholly by the advice of ſuch general aſſemblies, ſummoned for the purpoſe. But the ſtyle of theſe conventions, as delivered by ſeveral authors, is very various; ſometimes it is *comites, barones, et cleri* *; his marriage was agreed on, *conſilio majorum natu et magnatum terræ.* One author † calls it *conſilium principum, ſacerdotum, et reliqui populi.* And for the election of an archbiſhop, the Saxon Chronicle ſays, That he commanded by letters all biſhops, abbots, and thanes, to meet him at Glouceſter, *ad procerum conventum.* Laſtly, ſome affirm theſe aſſemblies to have been an imitation of the three eſtates in Normandy. I am very ſenſible how much time and pains have been employed by ſeveral learned men to ſearch out the original of parliaments in England, wherein I doubt they have little ſatisfied others or themſelves. I know likewiſe that to engage in the ſame enquiry, would neither ſuit my abilities nor my ſubject. It may be ſufficient for my purpoſe, if I be able to give ſome little light into this matter, for the curioſity of thoſe who are leſs informed.

* Brompton. † Polydore Vergil.

The

The inſtitution of a ſtate or common-wealth out of a mixture of the three forms of government received in the ſchools, however it be derided as a ſoleciſm and abſurdity by ſome late writers on politicks, has been very ancient in the world, and is celebrated by the graveſt authors of antiquity. For, although the ſupreme power cannot properly be ſaid to be divided, yet it may be ſo placed in three ſeveral hands, as each to be a check upon the other; or formed into a balance, which is held by him that has the executive power, with the nobility and people in counterpoiſe in each ſcale. Thus the kingdom of Media is repreſented by Xenophon before the reign of Cyrus; ſo Polybius tells us, the beſt government is a mixture of the three forms, *regno, optimatium, et populi imperio*: the ſame was that of Sparta in its primitive inſtitution by Lycurgus, made up of *reges, ſeniores, et populus*; the like may be aſſerted of Rome, Carthage, and other ſtates: and the Germans of old fell upon the ſame model, from whence the Goths their neighbours, with the reſt of thoſe northern people, did perhaps borrow it. But an aſſembly of the three eſtates is not properly of Gothick inſtitution; for theſe fierce people, when upon the decline of the Roman empire they firſt invaded Europe, and ſettled ſo many kingdoms in Italy, Spain, and other parts, were all heathens; and when a body of them had fixed themſelves in a tract of land left deſolate by the flight or deſtruction of the natives, their military government, by

time

time and peace, became civil; the general was king, his great officers were his nobles and miniſters of ſtate, and the common ſoldiers the body of the people; but theſe were freemen, and had ſmaller portions of land aſſigned them. The remaining natives were all ſlaves; the nobles were a ſtanding council; and upon affairs of great importance, the freemen were likewiſe called by their repreſentatives to give their advice. By which it appears, that the Gothick frame of government conſiſted at firſt but of two ſtates or aſſemblies, under the adminiſtration of a ſingle perſon. But, after the converſion of theſe princes and their people to the Chriſtian faith, the church became endowed with great poſſeſſions, as well by the bounty of kings, as the arts and induſtry of the clergy, winning upon the devotion of their new converts: and power, by the common maxim, always accompanying property, the eccleſiaſticks began ſoon to grow conſiderable, to form themſelves into a body, and to call aſſemblies or ſynods by their own authority, or ſometimes by the command of their princes, who, in an ignorant age, had a mighty veneration for their learning as well as piety. By ſuch degrees the church arrived at length, by very juſtifiable ſteps, to have her ſhare in the commonwealth, and became a third eſtate in moſt kingdoms of Europe; but theſe aſſemblies, as we have already obſerved, were ſeldom called in England before the reign of this prince, nor even then were always compoſed after the ſame manner: neither

neither does it appear from the writers who lived neareſt to that age, that the people had any repreſentative at all, beſide the barons and other nobles, who did not ſit in thoſe aſſemblies by virtue of their birth or creation, but of the lands or baronies they held. So that the preſent conſtitution of the Engliſh parliament has, by many degrees and alterations, been modelled to the frame it is now in; which alterations I ſhall obſerve in the ſucceeding reigns, as exactly as I can diſcover them by a diligent ſearch into the hiſtories of the ſeveral ages, without engaging in the controverted points of law about this matter, which would rather perplex the reader than inform him.

1116. But to return: Louis the Groſs king of France, a valiant and active prince, in the flower of his age, ſucceeding to that crown that Robert was deprived of, Normandy, grew jealous of the neighbourhood and power of king Henry; and began early to entertain deſigns either of ſubduing that duchy to himſelf, or at leaſt of making a conſiderable party againſt the king, in favour of William ſon of Robert, whom for that end he had taken into his protection. Purſuant to theſe intentions, he ſoon found an occaſion for a quarrel. expoſtulating with Henry, that he had broken his promiſe, by not doing homage for the duchy of Normandy, as well as by neglecting to raze the caſtle of Giſors, which was built on the French ſide of the river Epte, the common boundary between both dominions.

But

But an incident ſoon offered, which gave king Henry a pretext for retaliating almoſt in the ſame manner: for it happened that upon ſome offence taken againſt his nephew Theobald count of Blois by the French king, Louis in great rage ſent an army to invade and ravage the earl's territories. Theobald defended himſelf for a while with much valour; but at length in danger to be overpowered, requeſted aid of his uncle the king of England, who ſupported him ſo effectually with men and money, that he was able, not only to defend his own country, but very much to infeſt and annoy his enemy. Thus a war was kindled between the two kings; Louis now openly aſſerted the title of William the ſon of Robert, and entering into an alliance with the earls of Flanders and Anjou, began to concert meaſures for driving king Henry out of Normandy.

The king having timely intelligence of his enemy's deſigns, began, with great vigour and diſpatch, to prepare for war: he raiſed, with much difficulty and diſcontent of his people, the greateſt tax that had ever been known in England; and paſſing over into Normandy with a mighty army, joined his nephew Theobald. The king of France, who had entertained hopes that he ſhould over run the duchy before his enemy could arrive, advanced with great ſecurity towards the frontiers of Normandy; but obſerving an enemy of equal number and force already prepared to engage him, he ſuddenly ſtopt his march. The two armies

faced one another for ſome hours, neither ſide offering battle; the reſt of the day was ſpent in light ſkirmiſhes begun by the French, and repeated for ſome days following with various ſucceſs; but the remainder of the year paſſed without any conſiderable action.

1119. At length the violence of the two princes brought it to a battle: for Lewis, to give a reputation to his arms, advanced towards the frontiers of Normandy, and after a ſhort ſiege took Gué Nicaiſe*; there the king met him, and the fight began, which continued with great obſtinacy on both ſides for nine hours. The French army was divided into two bodies, and the Engliſh into three; by which means, that part where the king fought in perſon, being attacked by a ſuperior number, began to give way; and William Criſpin, a Norman baron, ſingling out the king of England (whoſe ſubject he had been, but baniſhed for treaſon) ſtruck him twice in the head with ſo much violence, that the blood guſhed out of his mouth. The king, inflamed with rage and indignation, dealt ſuch furious blows, that he ſtruck down ſeveral of his enemies, and Criſpin among the reſt, who was taken priſoner at his horſe's feet. The ſoldiers, encouraged by the valour of their prince, rallied, and fell on with freſh vigour; and the victory ſeemed doubtful, when William the ſon of king Henry, to whom his father had entruſted

* At that time reckoned an important fortreſs on the river Epte.

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the third body of his army, which had not yet engaged, fell on with this freſh reſerve upon the enemy, who was already very much harraſſed with the toil of the day: this quickly decided the matter; for the French, though valiantly fighting, were overcome, with the ſlaughter of ſeveral thouſand men; their king quitted the field, and withdrew to Andeli; but the king of England recovering Gué Nicaiſe, returned triumphant to Rouen.

This important victory was followed by the defection of the earl of Anjou to king Henry, and the earl of Flanders fell in the battle; by which the king of France was at once deprived of two powerful allies. However, by the interceſſion of the former, a peace was ſoon after made between both crowns. William the king's ſon did homage to Louis for the dukedom of Normandy; and the other William, following the fortunes of his father, was left to his pretenſions and complaints.

It is here obſervable, that from this time, until Wales was ſubdued to the Engliſh crown, the eldeſt ſons of England were called dukes of Normandy, as they are now princes of Wales.

1120. The king having ſtaid ſome time in Normandy, for the ſettlement of his duchy after the calamities and confuſions of a war, returned to England, to the very great ſatisfaction of his people and himſelf. He had enlarged his dominions by the conqueſt of Normandy; he had ſubdued all his competitors, and forced even the king of France, their great protector, after a glorious

victory, to his own conditions of a peace; he was upon very good terms with the pope, who had a great eſteem and friendſhip for his perſon, and made him larger conceſſions than was uſual from that ſee, and in thoſe ages. At home he was reſpected by the clergy, reverenced by the nobles, and beloved by the people; in his family he was bleſſed with a ſon of much hopes, juſt growing to years of manhood, and his daughter was an empreſs; ſo that he ſeemed to poſſeſs as great a ſhare of happineſs as human life is capable to admit. But the felicity of man depends upon a conjunction of many circumſtances, which are all ſubject to various accidents, and every ſingle accident is able to diſſolve the whole contexture; which truth was never verified more than in this prince; who, by one domeſtick misfortune not to be prevented or foreſeen, found all the pleaſure and content he propoſed to himſelf by his prudence, his induſtry, and his valour, wholly diſappointed and deſtroyed: for, William, the young prince having embarked at Barfleur ſome time after his father, the mariners being all drunk, ſuffered the ſhip to run upon a rock, where it was daſhed to pieces: the prince made a ſhift to get into the boat, and was making to the ſhore, until forced back by the cries of his ſiſter, whom he received into the boat; ſo many others crouded in at the ſame time, that it was immediately overturned. There periſhed, beſide the prince, a natural ſon and daughter of the king's, his niece, and many other perſons of quality, together

gether with all their attendants and ſervants, to the number of a hundred and forty, beſide fifty mariners; but one perſon eſcaping.

Although the king ſurvived this cruel misfortune many years, yet he could never recover his former humour, but grew melancholy and moroſe; however, in order to provide better for the peace and ſettlement of the kingdom after his death, about five months after the loſs of his ſon, his former queen having died three years before, he married Adelais, a beautiful young lady of the family of Lorrain *, in hopes of iſſue by her; but never had any.

The death of the prince gave occaſion to ſome new troubles in Normandy; for the earls of Meulant and Evreux, Hugh de Montfort, and other aſſociates, began to raiſe inſurrections there, which were thought to be privately fomented by the French king, out of enmity to king Henry, and in favour of William the ſon of Robert, to whom the earl of Anjou had lately given his daughter in marriage. But William of 1124
Tankerville, the king's lieutenant in Normandy, ſurprizing the enemy's forces by an ambuſh, intirely routed them, took both the earls priſoners, and ſent one of them (Meulant) to his maſter; but the count d'Evreux made his eſcape.

1126. King Henry having now loſt hope of iſſue by his new queen, brought with him, on

* She was daughter of Godfrey duke of Louvain, or the Lower Lorrain.

his return to England, his daughter Maude; who, by the emperor's death, had been lately left a widow and childleſs; and in a parliament or general aſſembly which he had ſummoned at Windſor, he cauſed the crown to be ſettled on her and her iſſue, and made all his nobles take a ſolemn oath to defend her title. This was performed by none with ſo much forwardneſs as Stephen earl of Boulogne, who was obſerved to ſhew a more than ordinary zeal in the matter. This young lord was the king's nephew, being ſecond ſon of the earl of Blois by Adela the Conqueror's daughter: he was in high favour with the king his uncle, who had married him to the daughter and heireſs of the earl of Boulogne, given him great poſſeſſions in England, and made him indeed too powerful for a ſubject.

The king having thus fixed the ſucceſſion of the crown in his daughter by an act of ſettlement and an oath of fealty, looked about to provide her with a ſecond huſband, and at length determined his choice in Geoffry Plantagenet earl of Anjou, the ſon of Fulk lately deceaſed.

This prince, whoſe dominions confined on France and Normandy, was uſually courted for an ally by both kings in their ſeveral quarrels; but having little faith or honour, he never ſcrupled to change ſides as often as he ſaw or conceived it for his advantage. After the great victory over the French, he cloſed in with king Henry, and gave his daughter to the young prince William; yet at the ſame time,

time, by the private encouragement of Louis, he prevailed on the king of England to be eaſy in the conditions of a peace. Upon the unfortunate loſs of the prince, and the troubles in Normandy thereupon, he fell again from the king, gave his other daughter to William the ſon of Robert, and ſtruck up with France to take that prince again into protection. But dying ſoon after, and leaving his ſon Geoffry to ſucceed in that earldom, the king was of opinion he could not any where beſtow his daughter with more advantage, both for the ſecurity and enlargement of his dominions, than by giving her to this earl; by which marriage Anjou would become an acquiſition to Normandy, and this be a more equal match to ſo formidable a neighbour as France. In a ſhort time the marriage was concluded; and this earl Geoffry had the honour to introduce into the royal family of England the ſurname of Plantagenet, borne by ſo many ſucceeding kings, which began with Henry II. who was the eldeſt ſon of this marriage.

But the king of France was in great diſcontent at this match: he eaſily foreſaw the diſmal conſequences to himſelf and his ſucceſſors, from ſuch an increaſe of dominion united to the crown of England: he knew what impreſſions might be made in future times to the ſhaking of his throne by an aſpiring and warlike king, if they ſhould happen in a weak reign, or upon any great diſcontents in that kingdom. Which conjectures being highly reaſonable (and ſince often verified by

events) he caſt about to find ſome way of driving the king of England intirely out of France; but having neither pretext nor ſtomach in the midſt of a peace to begin an open and formal quarrel, there fell out an accident which gave him plauſible occaſion of purſuing his deſign.

Charles the Good earl of Flanders having been lately murdered by ſome of his ſubjects, upon private revenge, the king of France went in perſon to take revenge of the aſſaſſins; which he performed with great juſtice and honour. But the late earl leaving no heir of his body, and ſeveral competitors appearing to diſpute the ſucceſſion, Louis rejected ſome others who ſeemed to have a fairer title, and adjudged it to William the ſon of Robert, the better to ſecure him to his intereſts upon any deſign he might engage in againſt the king of England. Not content with this, he aſſiſted the earl in perſon, ſubdued his rivals, and left him in peaceable poſſeſſion of his new dominion.

King Henry, on the other ſide, was very apprehenſive of his nephew's greatneſs, well knowing to what end it was directed; however, he ſeemed not to regard it, contenting himſelf to give the earl employment at home by privately nouriſhing the diſcontents of his new ſubjects, and abetting under-hand another pretender: for William had ſo intirely loſt the hearts of his people, by his intolerable avarice and exactions, that the principal towns in Flanders revolted from him, and invited Thierrie

Thierrie earl of Alſace to be their governor. But the king of France generouſly reſolved to appear once more in his defence, and took his third expedition into Flanders for that purpoſe. He had marched as far as Artois, when he was ſuddenly recalled to defend his own dominions from the fury of a powerful and provoked invader; for, Henry king of England, moved with indignation to ſee the French king, in the midſt of a peace, ſo frequently and openly ſupporting his moſt dangerous enemy, thought it the beſt way to divert Louis from kindling a fire againſt him abroad, by forcing him to extinguiſh one at home: he therefore entered into the bowels of France, ravaging and laying waſte all before him; and quickly grew ſo formidable, that the French king, to purchaſe a peace, was forced to promiſe never more to aſſiſt or favour the earl of Flanders; however, as it fell out, this article proved to be wholly needleſs; for the young earl ſoon after gave battle to Thierrie, and put his whole army to the rout; but purſuing his victory, he received a wound in his wriſt, which, by the unſkilfulneſs of a ſurgeon, coſt him his life.

This one ſlight inconſiderable accident, did, in all probability, put a ſtop to very great events; for, if that young prince had ſurvived his victory, it is hardly to be doubted but through the juſtneſs of his cauſe, the reputation of his valour, and the aſſiſtance of the king of France, he would in a little time have recovered Normandy, and perhaps his father's

father's liberty, which were the two deſigns he had in agitation; nor could he well have miſſed the crown of England after the king's death, who was now in his decline, when he had ſo fair a title, and no competitors in view but a woman and an infant.

1129. Upon the king's return from Normandy, a great council of the clergy was held at London, for the puniſhing of prieſts who lived in concubinage, which was the great grievance of the church in thoſe ages, and had been condemned by ſeveral canons. This aſſembly thinking to take a more effectual courſe againſt that abomination, as it was called, decreed ſevere penalties upon thoſe who ſhould be guilty of breaking it, intreating the king to ſee the law put in execution; which he very readily undertook, but performed otherwiſe than was expected, eluding the force of the law by an evaſion to his own advantage: for, exacting fines of the delinquent prieſts, he ſuffered them to keep their concubines without farther diſturbance; a very unaccountable ſtep in ſo wiſe a body for their own concernments, as the clergy of thoſe times is looked upon to have been; and although perhaps the fact be not worth recording, it may ſerve as a leſſon to all aſſemblies, never to truſt the execution of a law in the hands of thoſe, who will find it more to their intereſts to ſee it broken than obſerved.

1132. The empreſs Maude was now happily delivered of a ſon, who was afterwards king of Eng-

land by the name of Henry the Second: and the king calling a parliament, had the oath of fealty repeated by the nobles and clergy to her and her iſſue; which, in the compaſs of three years, they all broke or forgot.

1134. I think it may deſerve a place in this hiſtory to mention the laſt ſcene of duke Robert's life; who, either through the poorneſs or greatneſs of ſpirit, having outlived the loſs of his honour, his dominions, his liberty, his eye-ſight, and his only ſon, was at laſt forced to ſink under the load of eighty years, and muſt be allowed for the greateſt example either of inſenſibility, or contempt of earthly things, that ever appeared in a ſovereign, or private perſon. He was a prince hardly equalled by any in his time for valour, conduct, and courteſy; but his ruin began from the eaſineſs of his nature, which whoever knew how to manage, were ſure to be refuſed nothing they could aſk. By ſuch profuſion he was reduced to thoſe unhappy expedients of remitting his rights for a penſion, of pawning his towns, and multiplying taxes, which brought him into hatred and contempt with his ſubjects; neither do I think any virtue ſo little commendable in a ſovereign, as that of liberality where it exceeds what his ordinary revenues can ſupply: where it paſſes thoſe bounds, his ſubjects muſt all be oppreſſed to ſhew his bounty to a few flatterers, or he muſt ſell his towns, or baſely renounce his rights, by becoming penſioner to ſome powerful prince in the neighbourhood; all which

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we have lived to ſee performed by a late monarch in our own time and country.

1135. Since the reduction of Normandy to the king's obedience, he found it neceſſary for his affairs to ſpend in that duchy ſome part of his time almoſt every year; and a little before the death of Robert he made his laſt voyage there. It was obſervable in this prince, that having ſome years paſt very narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck in his paſſage from Normandy into England, the ſenſe of his danger had made very deep impreſſions on his mind; which he diſcovered by a great reformation in his life, by redreſſing ſeveral grievances, and doing many acts of piety; and to ſhew the ſteadineſs of his reſolutions, he kept them to the laſt, making a progreſs through moſt parts of Normandy, treating his ſubjects in all places with great familiarity and kindneſs, granting their petitions, eaſing their taxes, and in a word, giving all poſſible marks of a religious, wiſe, and gracious prince.

Returning to St. Denys le Forment from his progreſs a little indiſpoſed, he there fell into a fever upon a ſurfeit of lamprey, which in a few days ended his life. His body was conveyed to England, and buried at Reading in the abbey-church himſelf had founded.

It is hard to affirm any thing peculiar of this prince's character; thoſe authors who have attempted it mentioning very little but what was common to him with thouſands of other men; neither have they recorded any of thoſe perſonal cir-

circumſtances or paſſages, which only can diſcover ſuch qualities of the mind as moſt diſtinguiſh one man from another. Theſe defects may perhaps appear in the ſtories of many ſucceeding kings; which makes me hope I ſhall not be altogether blamed for ſometimes diſappointing the reader in a point wherein I could wiſh to be the moſt exact.

As to his perſon, he is deſcribed to be of middle ſtature; his body ſtrong-ſet and fleſhy; his hair black; his eyes large; his countenance amiable, and very pleaſant, eſpecially when he was merry. He was temperate in meat and drink, and a hater of effeminacy; a vice or folly much complained of in his time, eſpecially that circumſtance of long artificial hair, which he forbad upon ſevere penalties. His three principal virtues were prudence, valour, and eloquence. Theſe were counterbalanced by three great vices; avarice, cruelty, and luſt; of which the firſt is proved by the frequency of his taxes; the ſecond, by his treatment of duke Robert; and the laſt, was notorious. But the proof of his virtues does not depend on ſingle inſtances, manifeſting themſelves through the whole courſe of a long reign, which was hardly attended by any misfortune that prudence, juſtice, or valour could prevent. He came to the crown at a ripe age, when he had paſſed thirty years; having learned, in his private life, to ſtruggle with hardſhips, whereof he had his ſhare, from the capriciouſneſs and injuſtice of both his brothers; and by obſerving their failures, he had learned to avoid them

them in himſelf; being ſteady and uniform in his whole conduct, which were qualities they both ſeemed chiefly to want. This likewiſe made him ſo very tenacious as he was obſerved to be in his love and hatred. He was a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, which he ſeems never to have violated, but in that particular caſe, which political caſuiſts are pleaſed to diſpenſe with, where the diſpute is about a crown. In that he † * * * * * * *

Conſider him as a private man, he was perhaps the moſt accompliſhed perſon of his age; having a facetious wit, cultivated by learning, and advanced with a great ſhare of natural eloquence, which was his peculiar talent: and it was no doubt the ſenſe he had of this laſt perfection in himſelf, that put him ſo often upon calling together the great councils of the nation, where natural oratory is of moſt figure as well as uſe.

THE REIGN OF

STEPHEN.

THE veneration which people are ſuppoſed naturally to pay to a right line, and a lawful title in their kings, muſt be upheld by a long uninterrupted ſucceſſion, otherwiſe it quickly loſes

† Here the ſentence breaks off ſhort, and is left unfiniſhed.

opinion,

opinion, upon which the ſtrength of it, although not the juſtice, is entirely founded: and where breaches have been already made in the lineal deſcent, there is little ſecurity in a good title (though confirmed by promiſes and oaths) where the lawful heir is abſent, and a popular aſpiring pretender near at hand. This, I think, may paſs for a maxim, if any conſequences drawn from hiſtory can pretend to be called ſo, having been verified ſucceſſively three times in this kingdom, I mean by the two preceding kings, and by the prince whoſe reign we are now writing. Neither can this obſervation be juſtly controuled by any inſtances brought of future princes, who being abſent at their predeceſſor's death, have peaceably ſucceeded, the circumſtances being very different in every caſe, either by the weakneſs or juſtice of pretenders, or elſe by the long eſtabliſhment of lineal ſucceſſion.

1135. Stephen earl of Boulogne, whoſe deſcent has been already ſhewn in the foregoing reign, was the ſecond of three brothers, whereof the eldeſt was Theobald earl of Blois, a ſovereign prince, and Henry the youngeſt was biſhop of Wincheſter, and the pope's legate in England. At the time of king Henry's death, his daughter the empreſs was with her huſband the earl of Anjou, a grave and cautious prince, altogether unqualified for ſudden enterprizes: but earl Stephen, who had attended the king in his laſt expedition, made ſo great diſ-

patch

patch for England *, that the council had not time to meet and make any declaration about a ſucceſſor. When the lords were aſſembled, the legate had already, by his credit and influence among them, brought over a great party to his brother's intereſts; and the earl himſelf, knowing with what ſucceſs the like methods were uſed by his two laſt predeceſſors, was very liberal of his promiſes to amend the laws, ſupport the church, and redreſs grievances: for all which the biſhop undertook to be guarantee. And thus was Stephen elected by thoſe very perſons who had ſo lately, and in ſo ſolemn a manner, more than once ſworn fealty to another.

The motives whereby the nobility was ſwayed to proceed after this manner, were obvious enough. There had been a perpetual ſtruggle between them and their former kings in the defence of their liberties; for the ſecurity whereof, they thought a king elected without other title, would be readier to enter into any obligations, and being held in conſtant dependance, would be leſs tempted to break them: therefore, as at his coronation they obtained full ſecurity by his taking new and additional oaths in favour of their liberties, their oath of fealty to him was but conditional, to be of force no longer than he ſhould be true to thoſe ſtipulations.

* Stephen was at Boulogne when he received the news of Henry's death.

But

But other reaſons were contrived and given out to ſatisfy the people: they were told it was an indignity for ſo noble a nation to be governed by a woman; that the late king had promiſed to marry his daughter within the realm, and by conſent of parliament, neither of which was obſerved: and laſtly, Hugh Bigod, ſteward to king Henry, took a voluntary oath, before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that his maſter, in his laſt ſickneſs, had, upon ſome diſpleaſure, diſinherited his daughter.

He received the crown with one great advantage that could beſt enable him to preſerve it: this was, the poſſeſſion of his uncle's treaſures, amounting to one hundred thouſand pounds, and reckoned as a prodigious ſum in thoſe days; by the help of which, without ever raiſing one tax upon the people, he defended an unjuſt title againſt the lawful heir during a perpetual conteſt of almoſt twenty years.

In order to defend himſelf againſt any ſudden invaſion, which he had cauſe enough to expect, he gave all men licence to build caſtles upon their lands; which proved a very miſtaken piece of politicks, although grounded upon ſome appearance of reaſon. The king ſuppoſed that no invader would venture to advance into the heart of his country, without reducing every caſtle in his way; which muſt be a work of much time and difficulty, nor would be able to afford men to block them up, and ſecure his retreat: which way of arguing may be good enough to a prince of an undiſputed title, and

entirely in the hearts of his ſubjects: but, numerous caſtles are ill defenders of an uſurpation, being the common retreat of malecontents, where they can fly with ſecurity, and diſcover their affections as they pleaſe: by which means, the enemy, although beaten in the field, may ſtill preſerve his footing in the bowels of a country; may wait ſupplies from abroad, and prolong a war for many years: nor, while he is maſter of any caſtles, can he ever be at mercy by any ſudden misfortune; but may be always in a condition of demanding terms for himſelf. Theſe, and many other effects of ſo pernicious a counſel, the king found through the whole courſe of his reign; which was entirely ſpent in ſieges, revolts, ſurprizes, and ſurrenders, with very few battles, but no deciſive action: a period of much miſery and confuſion, which affords little that is memorable for events, or uſeful for the inſtruction of poſterity.

1136. The firſt conſiderable enemy that appeared againſt him was David king of Scots; who having taken the oath of fealty to Maude and her iſſue, being farther engaged by the ties of blood, and ſtirred up through the perſuaſions of ſeveral Engliſh nobles, began to take up arms in her cauſe; and invading the northern parts, took Carliſle and Newcaſtle; but, upon the king's ſpeedy approach with his forces, a peace was preſently made, and the towns reſtored. However, the Scottiſh prince would, by no means, renounce his fidelity to the empreſs, by paying homage to Ste-

phen; ſo that an expedient was found to have it performed by his eldeſt ſon: in conſideration of which, the king gave, or rather reſtored to him, the earldom of Huntington.

Upon his return to London from this expedition, he happened to fall ſick of a lethargy, and it was confidently given out that he was dead. This report was, with great induſtry and artifice, diſperſed by his enemies; which quickly diſcovered the ill inclination of ſeveral lords; who, although they never believed the thing, yet made uſe of it for an occaſion or pretext to fortify their caſtles, which they refuſed to ſurrender to the king himſelf; but Stephen was reſolved, as he ſaid, to convince them that he was alive and well; for, coming againſt them before he was expected, he recovered Exeter, Norwich, and other fortified places, although not without much difficulty.

It is obvious enough to wonder how a prince of ſo much valour, and other excellent endowments, elected by the church and ſtate, after a compliance with all conditions they could impoſe on him, and in an age when ſo little regard was had to the lineal deſcent, laſtly confirmed by the Pope himſelf, ſhould be ſoon deſerted and oppoſed by thoſe very perſons who had been the moſt inſtrumental to promote him. But, beſide his defective title, and the undiſtinguiſhed liberty of building caſtles, there were three circumſtances which very much contributed to thoſe perpetual revolts of the nobles againſt him: firſt, that upon his coming to the

crown he was very liberal in diſtributing lands and honours to ſeveral young gentlemen of noble birth, who came to make their court, whereby he hoped to get the reputation of a generous prince, and to ſtrengthen his party againſt the empreſs: but, by this encouragement, the number of pretenders quickly grew too faſt upon him; and when he had granted all he was able, he was forced to diſmiſs the reſt with promiſes and excuſes; who, either out of envy or diſcontent, or elſe to mend their fortunes, never failed to become his enemies upon the firſt occaſion that offered. Secondly, when he had reduced ſeveral caſtles and towns which had given the firſt example of defection from him, he hardly inflicted the leaſt puniſhment on the authors; which unſeaſonable mercy, that in another prince, and another age, would have been called greatneſs of ſpirit, paſſed in him for puſillanimity and fear, and is reckoned, by the writers of thoſe times, to have been the cauſe of many ſucceeding revolts. The third circumſtance was of a different kind: for, obſerving how little good effect he had found by his liberality and indulgence, he would needs try the other extreme, which was not his talent. He began to infringe the articles of his charter; to recall or diſown the promiſes he had made; and to repulſe petitioners with rough treatment; which was the more unacceptable, by being new and unexpected.

1137. Mean time the earl of Anjou, who was not in a condition to aſſert his wife's title to England,

land, hearing Stephen was employed at home, entered Normandy with ſmall force, and found it no difficult matter to ſeize ſeveral towns. The Normans, in the preſent diſtraction of affairs, not well knowing what prince to obey, at laſt ſent an invitation to Theobald earl of Blois, king Stephen's eldeſt brother, to accept their dukedom, upon the condition of protecting them from the preſent inſults of the earl of Anjou. But, before this matter could come to an iſſue, Stephen, who upon reduction of the towns already mentioned, had found a ſhort interval of quiet from his Engliſh ſubjects, arrived with unexpected ſpeed in Normandy; where Geoffry of Anjou ſoon fled before him, and the whole duchy came over to his obedience; for the farther ſettlement whereof, he made peace with the king of France; conſtituted his ſon Euſtace duke of Normandy, and made him ſwear fealty to that prince, and do him homage. His brother Theobald, who began to expoſtulate upon this diſappointment, he pacified with a penſion of two thouſand marks *: and even the earl of Anjou himſelf, who, in right of his wife, made demands of Stephen for the kingdom of England, finding he was no equal match at preſent, was perſuaded to become his penſioner for five thouſand more †.

* The mark of Normandy is to be underſtood here. Such a penſion in that age was equivalent to one of £. 31,000. ſterling in the preſent.

† Five thouſand marks of ſilver coin was, in this reign, of the ſame value as the ſum of £. 77,500. modern currency, is now. Here again the Normanic mark ſeems to be uſed.

Stephen, upon his return to England, met with an account of new troubles from the north; for the king of Scots, under pretence of obſerving his oath of fealty to the empreſs, infeſted the borders, and frequently making cruel inroads, plundered and laid waſte all before him.

1138. In order to revenge this baſe and perfidious treatment, the king, in his march northward, ſat down before Bedford, and took it after a ſiege of twenty days. This town was part of the earldom of Huntington, given by Stephen in the late peace to the eldeſt ſon of the Scottiſh king, for which the young prince did homage to him; and it was upon that account defended by a garriſon of Scots. Upon intelligence of this ſurrender, king David, overcome with fury, entered Northumberland; where, letting looſe the rage of his ſoldiers, he permitted and encouraged them to commit all manner of inhumanities; which they performed in ſo execrable a manner as would ſcarce be credible, if it were not atteſted by almoſt the univerſal conſent of writers: they ript up women with child, drew out the infants, and toſſed them upon the points of their lances: they murdered prieſts before the altars; then cutting the heads from off the crucifixes, in their ſtead put on the heads of thoſe they had murdered: with many other inſtances of monſtrous barbarity too foul to relate *: but cruelty being uſually attended with cowardice, this

* It ſhould be—'too foul to be related.'

perfidious

perfidious prince, upon the approach of king Stephen, fled into places of ſecurity. The king of England, finding no enemy on whom to employ his revenge, marched forward into the country, deſtroying with fire and ſword all the ſouthern parts; and would, in all probability, have made terrible impreſſions into the heart of Scotland, if he had not been ſuddenly recalled by a more dangerous fire at home, which had been kindled in his abſence, and was now broken out into a flame.

Robert earl of Gloceſter, natural ſon of the late king, came into England ſome time after the advancement of Stephen to the crown; and yielding to the neceſſity of the time, took the oath of fealty upon the ſame condition uſed by the other nobles, to be of force ſo long as the king ſhould keep his faith with him, and preſerve his dignity inviolate: but, being in his heart wholly devoted to the intereſts of the empreſs his ſiſter, and moved by the perſuaſions of ſeveral religious men, he had, with great ſecrecy and application, ſo far practiſed upon the levity or diſcontents of ſeveral lords, as to gain them to his party: for, the king had, of late, very much alienated the nobles againſt him; firſt, by ſeizing ſeveral of their perſons, and diſpoſſeſſing them of their lands; and ſecondly, by taking into his favour William D'Ypres, a Flemiſh commander, of noble birth, but baniſhed by his prince. This man, with many of his followers, the king employed chiefly both in his councils and his armies, and made him earl of Kent, to the

great envy and diſpleaſure of his Engliſh ſubjects. The earl of Gloceſter, therefore, and his accomplices, having prepared all things neceſſary for an inſurrection, it was agreed among them, that while the king was engaged againſt the Scots, each of them ſhould ſecure what towns and caſtles they could, and openly declare for the empreſs. Accordingly earl Robert ſuddenly fortified himſelf in Briſtol; the reſt followed his example; Hereford, Shrewſbury, Ludlow, Dover, and many other places, were ſeized by ſeveral lords; and the defection grew ſo formidable, that the king, to his great grief, was forced to leave his Scottiſh expedition unfiniſhed, and return with all poſſible ſpeed to ſuppreſs the rebellion begun by his ſubjects; having firſt left the care of the north to Thurſtan archbiſhop of York, with orders carefully to obſerve the motions of the Scots.

Whilſt the king was employed in the ſouth in reducing his diſcontented lords, and their caſtles, to his obedience; David, preſuming upon the diſtance between them, re-entered England with more numerous forces, and greater deſigns, than before: for, without loſing more time than what was neceſſary to pillage and deſtroy the country as he marched, he reſolved to beſiege York; which, if he could force to ſurrender, would ſerve as a convenient frontier againſt the Engliſh. To this end, advancing near the city, and having pitched his tents, he ſat down before it with his whole army. In the mean time archbiſhop Thurſtan, having already

ready ſummoned the nobles and gentry of the ſhire and parts adjacent, had, by powerful perſuaſions, incited them to defend their country againſt a treacherous, bloody, and reſtleſs enemy: ſo that before the king of Scotland could make any progreſs in the ſiege, the whole power of the north was united againſt him, under the earl of Albemarle, and ſeveral other nobles. Archbiſhop Thurſtan happening to fall ſick, could not go in perſon to the army, but ſent the biſhop of Durham in his ſtead; by whoſe encouragements the Engliſh, although in number far inferior, advanced boldly towards the enemy, and offered them battle; which was as readily accepted by the Scots: who, ſending out a party of horſe to ſecure the riſing ground, were immediately attacked by the Engliſh, and after a ſharp diſpute entirely defeated. In the heat of the battle, the king of Scots, and his ſon Henry earl of Huntington, gave many proofs of great perſonal valour. The young prince fell with ſuch fierceneſs upon a body of the Engliſh, that he utterly broke and diſperſed them; and was purſuing his victory, when a certain man, bearing aloft the head of an enemy he had cut off, cried out, It was the head of the Scottiſh king; which being heard and believed on both ſides, the Engliſh, who had lately fled, rallied again, aſſaulting their enemies with new vigour; the Scots, on the other ſide, diſcouraged by the ſuppoſed death of their prince, began to turn their backs: the king and his ſon uſed all endeavours to ſtop their flight,

flight, and made ſeveral brave ſtands againſt the enemy; but the greateſt part of their army being fled, and themſelves almoſt encompaſſed, they were forced to give way to fortune, and with much difficulty made their eſcape.

The loſs on the Engliſh ſide was inconſiderable; but of Scots, by general conſent of writers, ten thouſand were ſlain. And thus ended the war of the ſtandard, as it was uſually called by the authors of that age; becauſe the Engliſh, upon a certain engine, raiſed the maſt of a ſhip, on the top whereof, in a ſilver box, they put the conſecrated wafer, and faſtened the ſtandards of St. Peter and other ſaints: this gave them courage, by remembering they were to fight in the preſence of God: and ſerved likewiſe for a mark where to reaſſemble when they ſhould happen to be diſperſed by any accident or misfortune.

1139. Mean time the king was equally ſucceſsful againſt his rebellious lords at home, having taken moſt of their caſtles and ſtrong holds; and the earl of Glouceſter himſelf, no longer able to make any reſiſtance, withdrew into Normandy, to concert new meaſures with the empreſs his ſiſter. Thus the king had leiſure and opportunity for another expedition into Scotland, to purſue and improve his victory, where he met with no oppoſition: however, he was at length perſuaded with much difficulty to accept his own conditions of a peace; and David delivered up to him his eldeſt ſon Henry, as hoſtage for performance of articles between them.

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The king, in his return homeward, laid ſiege to Ludlow caſtle, which had not been reduced with the reſt: here prince Henry of Scotland, boiling with youth and valour, and expoſing his perſon upon all occaſions, was lifted from his horſe by an iron grapple let down from the wall, and would have been hoiſted up into the caſtle, if the king had not immediately flown to his aſſiſtance, and brought him off with his own hands by main force from the enemy, whom he ſoon compelled to ſurrender the caſtle.

1140. Stephen having thus ſubdued his inveterate enemies the Scots, and reduced his rebellious nobles, began to entertain hopes of enjoying a little eaſe. But he was deſtined to the poſſeſſion of a crown with perpetual diſturbance; for he was hardly returned from his northern expedition, when he received intelligence that the empreſs, accompanied by her brother the earl of Glouceſter, was preparing to come for England, in order to diſpute her title to the kingdom. The king, who knew by experience what a powerful party ſhe already had to eſpouſe her intereſts, very reaſonably concluded, the defection from him would be much greater, when ſhe appeared in perſon to countenance and reward it; he therefore began again to repent of the licence he had granted for building caſtles, which were now likely to prove ſo many places of ſecurity for his enemies, and fortifications againſt himſelf; for he knew not whom

whom to truſt, vehemently ſuſpecting his nobles ever ſince their laſt revolt. He therefore caſt about for ſome artifice to get into his hands as many of their caſtles as he could: in the ſtrength and magnificence of which kind of ſtructures, the biſhops had far outdone the reſt, and were upon that, as well as other accounts, very much maligned and envied by the temporal lords, who were extreamly jealous of the church's encreaſing power, and glad upon all occaſions to ſee the prelates humbled. The king, therefore, having formed his project, reſolved to make trial where it would be leaſt invidious, and where he could foreſee leaſt danger in the conſequences. At a parliament or aſſembly of nobles at Oxford, it was contrived to raiſe a quarrel between the ſervants of ſome biſhops, and thoſe of Alan count of Dinan in Bretagne, upon a contention of rooms in their inns. Stephen took hold of this advantage, ſent for the biſhops, taxed them with breaking his peace, and demanded the keys of their caſtles, adding threats of impriſonment if they dared to diſobey. Thoſe whom the king chiefly ſuſpected, or rather who had built the moſt and ſtrongeſt caſtles, were Roger biſhop of Saliſbury, with his nephew and natural ſon the biſhops of Ely and Lincoln; whom the king, by many circumſtances of rigor, compelled to ſurrender, going himſelf in perſon to ſeize the Devizes, then eſteemed the nobleſt ſtructure of Europe, and built by the fore-mentioned biſhop Roger; whoſe treaſure,

treaſure, to the value of forty thouſand marks *, there likewiſe depoſited, fell, at the ſame time, into the king's hand, which in a few days broke the biſhop's heart, already worn with age and infirmity.

It may, perhaps, not be thought a digreſſion to ſay ſomething of the fortunes of this prelate; who, from the loweſt beginnings, came to be, without diſpute, the greateſt churchman of any ſubject in his age. It happened that the late king Henry, in the reign of his brother, being at a village in Normandy, wanted a prieſt to ſay maſs before him and his train; when this man, who was a poor curate thereabouts, offered his ſervice, and performed it with ſo much dexterity and ſpeed, that the ſoldiers who attended the prince recommended him to their maſter, upon that account, as a very proper chaplain for military men. But it ſeems he had other talents; for having gotten into the prince's ſervice, he ſoon diſcovered great application and addreſs, much order and œconomy in the management of his maſter's fortunes, which were wholly left to his care. After Henry's advancement to the crown, this chaplain grew chief in his favour and confidence; was made biſhop of Saliſbury, chancellor of England, employed in all his moſt weighty affairs, and uſually left vicegerent of

* This prelate's treaſure is doubtleſs computed by the ſmaller or Saxon mark; the uſe of which ſtill prevailed in England: and even thus computed, it amounts to a vaſt ſum, equal to about 116,350*l.* of modern money.

the

the realm while the king was abſent in Normandy. He was among the firſt that ſwore fealty to Maude and her iſſue; and among the firſt that revolted from her to Stephen; offering ſuch reaſons in council for ſetting her aſide, as, by the credit and opinion of his wiſdom, were very prevalent. But the king, in a few years, forgot all obligations, and the biſhop fell a ſacrifice in his old age to thoſe treaſures he had been ſo heaping up for its ſupport. A juſt reward for his ingratitude towards the prince that raiſed him, to be ruined by the ingratitude of another, whom he had been ſo very inſtrumental to raiſe.

But Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, the Pope's legate, not able to endure this violation of the church, called a council of all the prelates to meet at Wincheſter, where the king being ſummoned appeared by his advocate, who pleaded his cauſe with much learning; and the archbiſhop of Rouen coming to the council, declared his opinion, that although the canons did allow the biſhops to poſſeſs caſtles, yet in dangerous times they ought to deliver them up to the king. This opinion Stephen followed very ſteadily, not yielding a tittle, although the legate his brother uſed all means, both rough and gentle, to work upon him.

The council of biſhops broke up without other effect than that of leaving in their minds an implacable hatred to the king, in a very opportune juncture for the intereſts of Maude, who, about this time, landed at Portſmouth with her brother Robe

Robert earl of Glouceſter. The whole force ſhe brought over for this expedition conſiſted but of one hundred and forty knights; for ſhe truſted altogether in her cauſe and her friends. With this ſlender attendance ſhe went to Arundel, and was there received into the caſtle by the widow of the late king; while earl Robert, accompanied only by twenty men, marched boldly to his own city of Glouceſter, in order to raiſe forces for the empreſs, where the townſmen turned out the king's garriſon as ſoon as they heard of his approach.

King Stephen was not ſurprized at the news of the empreſs's arrival, being a thing he had always counted upon, and was long preparing himſelf againſt. He was glad to hear how ill ſhe was provided, and reſolved to uſe the opportunity of her brother's abſence; for, haſting down to Arundel with a ſufficient ſtrength, he laid ſiege to the caſtle, in hopes, by ſecuring her perſon, to put a ſpeedy end to the war.

But there wanted not ſome very near about the king, who, favouring the party of Maude, had credit enough to prevail with him not to venture time and reputation againſt an impregnable fortreſs; but rather, by withdrawing his forces, permit her to retire to ſome leſs fortified place, where ſhe might more eaſily fall into his hands. This advice the king took againſt his own opinion; the empreſs fled out of Arundel by night; and, after frequent ſhifting her ſtages through ſeveral towns, which had already declared in her favour, fixt herſelf

ſelf at laſt at Lincoln; where, having all things provided neceſſary for her defence, ſhe reſolved to continue, and expect either a general revolt of the Engliſh to her ſide, or the deciſion of war between the king and her brother.

1141. But Stephen, who had purſued the empreſs from place to place, hearing ſhe had ſhut herſelf up in Lincoln, reſolved to give her no reſt; and to help on his deſign, it fell out that the citizens, in hatred to the earl of Cheſter, who commanded there for the empreſs, ſent a private invitation to the king, with promiſe to deliver the town and their governor into his hands. The king came accordingly, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the town; but Maude and the earl made their eſcape a few days before. However, many great perſons of Maude's party remained priſoners to the king, and among the reſt the earl of Cheſter's wife, who was daughter to the earl of Gloceſter. Theſe two earls reſolving to attempt the relief of their friends, marched with all their forces near Lincoln, where they found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive them. The next morning, after battle offered by the lords, and accepted by the king, both ſides made ready to engage. The king having diſpoſed his cavalry on each wing, placed himſelf at the head of his foot, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence. The army of the lords was divided in three bodies; thoſe whom king Stephen had baniſhed were placed in the middle, the earl of Cheſter led the van, and the earl of

of Gloceſter commanded the rear. The battle was fought at firſt with equal advantage, and great obſtinacy on both ſides: at length the right wing of the king's horſe, preſſed by the earl of Cheſter, galloped away, not without ſuſpicion of treachery; the left followed the example. The king beheld their flight, and encouraging thoſe about him, fell with undaunted valour upon the enemy; and being for ſome time bravely ſeconded by his foot, did great execution. At length over-powered by numbers, his men began to diſperſe, and Stephen was left almoſt alone with his ſword in his hand, wherewith he oppoſed his perſon againſt a whole victorious army, nor durſt any be ſo hardy to approach him; the ſword breaking, a citizen of Lincoln put into his hands a Daniſh battle-ax, with which he ſtruck to the ground the earl of Cheſter*, who preſumed to come within his reach. But this weapon likewiſe flying in pieces with the force of thoſe furious blows he dealt on all ſides, a bold knight of the empreſs's party, named William de Keynes, laid hold on his helmet, and immediately cried out to his fellows, "I have got the king." Then the reſt ran in, and he was taken priſoner.

The king being thus ſecured, was preſented to the empreſs, then at Gloceſter, and by her orders conveyed to Briſtol; where he continued in ſtrict cuſtody nine months, although with honour-

* The earl of Cheſter lived nevertheleſs to fight other battles, and died twelve years afterwards by poiſon.

able treatment for ſome time, until either upo endeavouring to make his eſcape, or in malice t the Londoners, who had a great affection for thei king, he was, by expreſs command from the em preſs, laid in irons, and uſed with other circum ſtances of ſeverity.

This victory was followed by a general defectio of almoſt the whole kingdom; and the earl of An jou, huſband to the empreſs, upon the fame o the king's defeat and impriſonment, reduced with out any difficulty the whole duchy of Normandy to his obedience.

The legate himſelf, although brother to kin Stephen, received her at Wincheſter with great ſo lemnity, accepted her oath for governing witl juſtice, redreſſing grievances, and ſupporting th rights of the Church, and took the old conditiona one of fealty to her; then in an aſſembly of bi ſhops and clergy convoked for the purpoſe, he diſ played the miſcarriages of his brother, and de clared his approbation of the empreſs to be queen to which they unanimouſly agreed. To com plete all, he prevailed by his credit with the Lon doners, who ſtood out the laſt of any, to acknow ledge and receive her into the city, where ſhe ar rived at length in great pomp, and with genera ſatisfaction.

But it was the misfortune of this princeſs t poſſeſs many weaknelſes that are charged to th ſex, and very few of its commendable qualities ſhe was now in peaceable poſſeſſion of the whol

kingdom

kingdom, except the country of Kent, where William D'Ypres pretended to keep up a ſmall party for the king; when by her pride, wilfulneſs, indiſcretion, and a diſobliging behaviour, ſhe ſoon turned the hearts of all men againſt her, and in a ſhort time loſt the fruits of that victory and ſucceſs which had been ſo hardly gained by the prudence and valour of her excellent brother. The firſt occaſion ſhe took to diſcover the perverſeneſs of her nature, was in the treatment of Maude, the wife of king Stephen, a lady of great virtue, and courage above her ſex; who, coming to the empreſs an humble ſuitor in behalf of her huſband, offered, as a price of his liberty, that he ſhould reſign all pretenſions to the crown, and paſs the reſt of his life in exile, or in a convent: but this requeſt was rejected with ſcorn and reproaches; and the queen finding all intreaties to no purpoſe, writ to her ſon Euſtace to let him underſtand the ill ſucceſs of her negociation, that no relief was to be otherwiſe hoped for than by arms; and therefore adviſed him to raiſe immediately what forces he could for the relief of his father.

Her next miſcarriage was towards the Londoners, who preſented her a petition for redreſſing certain rigorous laws of her father, and reſtoring thoſe of Edward the Confeſſor. The empreſs put them off for a time with excuſes, but at laſt diſcovered ſome diſpleaſure at their importunity. The citizens, who had with much difficulty been perſuaded to receive her againſt their inclinations,

which ſtood wholly for the king, were moved with indignation at her unreaſonable refuſal of their juſt demands, and entered into a conſpiracy to ſeize her perſon. But ſhe had timely notice of their deſign, and leaving the city by night in diſguiſe fled to Oxford.

A third falſe ſtep the empreſs made, was, in refuſing her new powerful friend the legate a favour he deſired in behalf of Euſtace, the king's ſon, to grant him the lands and honours held by his father before he came to the crown. She had made large promiſes to this prelate, that ſhe would be directed in all things by his advice; and to be refuſed upon his firſt application a ſmall favour for his own nephew, ſtung him to the quick; however, he governed his reſentments a while, but began at the ſame time to reſume his affection for his brother. Theſe thoughts were cultivated with great addreſs by queen Maude; who prevailed at laſt ſo far upon the legate, that private meaſures were agreed between them for reſtoring Stephen to his liberty and crown. The biſhop took leave of the empreſs, upon ſome plauſible pretence, and retired to Winchester; where he gave directions for ſupplying with men and proviſions ſeveral ſtrong caſtles he had built in his dioceſe, while the queen with her ſon Euſtace prevailed with the Londoners and men of Kent to riſe in great numbers for the king; and a powerful army was quickly on foot, under the command of William D'Ypres earl of Kent.

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In the mean time the empreſs began to be ſenſible of the errours ſhe had committed; and in hope either to retrieve the friendſhip of the legate, or take him priſoner, marched with her army to Wincheſter; where being received and lodged in the caſtle, ſhe ſent immediately for the legate, ſpoke much in excuſe of what was paſt, and uſed all endeavours to regain him to her intereſts. Biſhop Henry, on the other ſide, amuſed her with dubious anſwers, and kept her in ſuſpence for ſome days; but ſent privately at the ſame time to the king's army, deſiring them to advance with all poſſible ſpeed; which was executed with ſo much diligence, that the empreſs and her brother had only time with their troops to march a back-way out of the town. They were purſued by the enemy ſo cloſe in the rear, that the empreſs had hardly time, by counterfeiting herſelf dead, to make her eſcape; in which poſture ſhe was carried as a corpſe to Gloceſter; but the earl her brother, while he made what oppoſition he could, with deſign to ſtop her purſuers, was himſelf taken priſoner, with great ſlaughter of his men. After the battle, the earl was in his turn preſented to queen Maude, and by her command ſent to Rocheſter, to be treated in the ſame manner with the king.

Thus the heads of both parties were each in the power of his enemy, and Fortune ſeemed to have dealt with great equality between them. Two factions divided the whole kingdom, and as it uſually happens, private animoſities were inflamed

by the quarrel of the publick; which introduced a miſerable face of things throughout the land, whereof the writers of our Engliſh ſtory give melancholy deſcriptions, not to be repeated in this hiſtory; ſince the uſual effects of civil war are obvious to * conceive, and tireſome as well as uſeleſs to * relate. However, as the quarrel between the king and empreſs was grounded upon a cauſe, that in its own nature little concerned the intereſts of the people, this was thought a convenient juncture for tranſacting a peace, to which there appeared a univerſal diſpoſition. Several expedients were propoſed; but earl Robert would conſent upon no other terms than the depoſing of Stephen, and immediate delivery of the crown to his ſiſter. Theſe debates laſted for ſome months, until the two priſoners, weary of their long conſtraint, by mutual conſent were exchanged for each other, and all thoughts of agreement laid aſide.

The king, upon recovery of his freedom, haſtened to London, to get ſupplies of men and money for renewing the war. He there found that his brother of Wincheſter had, in a council of biſhops and abbots, renounced all obedience to the empreſs, and perſuaded the aſſembly to follow his example. The legate, in excuſe for this proceeding, loaded her with infamy, produced ſeveral inſtances wherein ſhe had broken the oath ſhe took when he received her as queen, and upon which

* This ſhould be — ' are obvious to *be conceived*, and tireſome as well as uſeleſs to *be related*.

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his obedience was grounded; ſaid, he had received information that ſhe had a deſign upon his life.

It muſt be confeſſed, that oaths of fealty in this prince's reign were feeble ties for binding the ſubject to any reaſonable degree of obedience; and the warmeſt advocates for liberty cannot but allow, from thoſe examples here produced, that it is very poſſible for people to run upon great extremes in this matter; that a monarch may be too much limited, and a ſubject too little; whereof the conſequences have been fully as pernicious, for the time, as the worſt that can be apprehended from arbitrary power in all its heights, although not perhaps ſo laſting or ſo hard to be remedied; ſince all the miſeries of this kingdom, during the period we are treating of, were manifeſtly owing to that continual violation of ſuch oaths of allegiance, as appear to have been contrived on purpoſe by ambitious men to be broken at pleaſure, without the leaſt apprehenſion of perjury; and in the mean time keep the prince in a continual ſlaviſh dependance.

The earl of Gloceſter, ſoon after his releaſe, went over into Normandy; where he found the earl of Anjou employed in completing the conqueſt of that duchy; there he delivered him the ſons of ſeveral Engliſh noblemen, to be kept as hoſtages for their fathers fidelity to the empreſs; and uſed many arguments for perſuading him to come over in perſon with an army to her aſſiſtance: but Geoffry excuſed himſelf by the importance of

other affairs, and the danger of expoſing the dominions he had newly acquired to rebellions in his abſence. However, he lent the earl of Gloceſter a ſupply of four hundred men, and ſent along with him his eldeſt ſon Henry, to comfort his mother, and be ſhewn to the people.

During the ſhort abſence of the earl of Gloceſter, the empreſs was cloſely beſieged in Oxford by the king; and proviſions beginning to fail, ſhe was in cruel apprehenſions of falling into his hands. This gave her occaſion to put in practice the only talent wherein ſhe ſeemed to excel, which was, that of contriving ſome little ſhift or expedient to ſecure her perſon upon any ſudden emergency. A long ſeaſon of froſt had made the Thames paſſable upon the ice, and much ſnow lay on the ground; Maude, with ſome few attendants clad all in white, to avoid being diſcovered from the king's camp, croſſed the river at midnight on foot, and travelling all night, got ſafe to Wallingford-caſtle, where her brother and young ſon Henry, newly returned from France, arrived ſoon after, to her great ſatisfaction: but Oxford, immediately upon the news of her flight, ſurrendered to the king.

However, this diſgrace was fully compenſated ſoon after by another of the ſame kind, which happened to king Stephen; for while he and his brother of Wincheſter were fortifying a nunnery at Wilton, to bridle his enemies at Saliſbury, who very much harraſſed thoſe parts by their frequent excurſions; the earl of Gloceſter, who watched all

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opportunities, came unaware with a ſtrong body of men, and ſet fire to the nunnery while the king himſelf was in it. Stephen, upon the ſudden ſurprize of the thing, wholly loſt or forgot his uſual courage, and fled ſhamefully away, leaving his ſoldiers to be cut in pieces by the earl.

During the reſt of the war, although it laſted nine years longer, there is little memorable recorded by any writer; whether the parties being pretty equal, and both ſufficiently tired with ſo long a contention, wanted vigor and ſpirit to make a thorough conqueſt, and only endeavoured to keep what they had; or whether the multitude of ſtrong caſtles, whoſe number daily increaſed, made it very difficult to end a war between two contending powers almoſt in balance; let the cauſe be what it will, the whole time paſſed in mutual ſieges, ſurprizes, revolts, ſurrenders of fortified places, without any deciſive action, or other event of importance to be related. By which at length the very genius of the people became wholly bent upon a life of ſpoil, robbery, and plunder; many of the nobles, although pretending to hold their caſtles for the king or the empreſs, lived like petty independant princes in a perpetual ſtate of war againſt their neighbours; the fields lay uncultivated, all the arts of civil life were baniſhed, no veneration left for ſacred perſons or things; in ſhort, no law, truth, or religion, among men, but a ſcene of univerſal miſery, attended with all the conſequences of an embroiled and diſtracted ſtate.

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About the eleventh year of the king's reign, young Henry, now growing towards a man, was ſent for to France by a meſſage from his father, who was deſirous to ſee him; but left a conſiderable party in England, to adhere to his intereſts; and in a ſhort time after (as ſome write) the empreſs herſelf grown weary of contending any longer in a cauſe where ſhe had met with nothing but misfortunes of her own procuring, left the kingdom likewiſe, and retired to her huſband. Nor was this the only good fortune that befel Stephen; for, before the year ended, the main prop and pillar of his enemies was taken away by death; this was Robert earl of Gloceſter, than whom there have been few private perſons known in the world that deſerve a fairer place and character in the regiſters of time, for his inviolable faith, diſintereſted friendſhip, indefatigable zeal, firm conſtancy to the cauſe he eſpouſed, and unparalleled generoſity in the conduct thereof: he adhered to his ſiſter in all her fortunes, to the ruin of his own; he placed a crown on her head; and when ſhe had loſt it by her folly and perverſeneſs, refuſed the greateſt offers from a victorious enemy, who had him in his power, and choſe to continue a priſoner rather than recover his liberty by any hazard to her pretenſions; he bore up her ſinking title in ſpite of her own frequent miſcarriages, and at laſt died in her cauſe by a fever contracted with perpetual toils for her ſervice. An example fit to be ſhewn the world, although few perhaps are likely

likely to follow it; but however, a ſmall tribute of praiſe, juſtly due to extraordinary virtue, may prove no ill expedient to encourage imitation.

But the death of this lord, together with the abſence of the empreſs and her ſon in France, added very little to the quiet or ſecurity of the king. For the earl of Gloceſter ſuſpecting the fidelity of the lords, had, with great ſagacity, delivered their ſons to the earl of Anjou, to be kept as pledges for their father's fidelity, as we have before related: by which means a powerful party was ſtill kept up againſt Stephen, too ſtrong to be ſuddenly broken. Beſides, he had, by an unuſual ſtrain of his conduct, lately loſt much good-will, as well as reputation, in committing an act of violence and fraud on the perſon of the earl of Cheſter, a principal adherent of the empreſs. This nobleman of great power and poſſeſſions, had newly reconciled himſelf to Stephen, and came to his court at Northampton; where, againſt all laws of hoſpitality, as well as common faith and juſtice, he was committed to priſon, and forced to buy his liberty with the ſurrender of Lincoln, and all his other places, into the king's hands.

Affairs continued in this turbulent poſture about two years, the nobles neither truſting the king, nor each other. The number of caſtles ſtill increaſed, which every man who had any poſſeſſions was forced to build, or elſe become a prey to his powerful neighbours. This was 1149 thought a convenient juncture, by the em-

preſs and her friends, for ſending young prince Henry to try his fortune in England; where he landed at the head of a conſiderable number of horſe and foot, although he was then but ſixteen years old. Immediately after his arrival he went to Carliſle, where he met his couſin David king of Scots, by whom he was made a knight, after the uſual cuſtom of young princes and noblemen in that age. The king of England, who had ſoon intelligence of Henry's landing and motion, marched down to ſecure York, againſt which he expected the firſt attempt of his enemy was deſigned. But, whatever the cauſe might be (wherein the writers of thoſe ages are either ſilent or unſatisfactory) both armies remained at that ſecure diſtance for three months; after which Henry return-
1150 ed back to Normandy, leaving the kingdom in the ſtate of confuſion he found it at his coming.

The fortunes of this young prince Henry Fitz-empreſs now began to advance by great and ſudden ſteps, whereof it will be no digreſſion to inform the reader, as well upon the connexion they have with the affairs at home about this time, as becauſe they concern the immediate ſucceſſor to the crown.

1151. Prince Henry's voyage to France was ſoon followed by the death of his father Geoffry earl of Anjou, whereby the ſon became poſſeſſed of that earldom, together with the duchy
1152 of Normandy; but in a ſhort time after he very much enlarged his dominions by a

marriage, in which he conſulted his reputation leſs than his advantage. For, Louis the Young, king of France, was lately divorced from his wife Eleanor; who, as the French writers relate, bore a great contempt and hatred to her huſband, and had long deſired ſuch a ſeparation. Other authors give her not ſo fair a character: but whatever might be the real cauſe, the pretext was conſanguinity in the fourth degree. Henry was content to accept this lady with all her faults, and in her right became duke of Aquitain, and earl of Poitou, very conſiderable provinces, added to his other dominions.

But the two kings of France and England began to apprehend much danger from the ſudden greatneſs of a young ambitious prince; and their intereſts were jointly concerned to check his growth. Duke Henry was now ready to ſail for England, in a condition to aſſert his title upon more equal terms; when the king of France, in conjunction with Euſtace, king Stephen's ſon, and Geoffry, the duke's own brother, ſuddenly entered into his dominions with a mighty army; took the caſtle of Neumarchè by ſtorm, and laid ſiege to that of Angers. The duke, by this incident, was forced to lay aſide his thoughts of England, and marching boldly towards the enemy, reſolved to relieve the beſieged; but finding they had already taken the caſtle, he thought it beſt to make a diverſion, by carrying the war into the enemy's country; where he left all to the mercy

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of his ſoldiers, ſurprized and burnt ſeveral caſtles, and made great devaſtations wherever he came. This proceeding anſwered the end for which it was deſigned; the king of France thought he had already done enough for his honour, and began to grow weary of a ruinous war, which was likely to be protracted. The conditions of a peace, by the intervention of ſome religious men, were ſoon agreed. The duke, after ſome time ſpent in ſettling his affairs, and preparing all things neceſſary for his intended expedition, ſet ſail for England, where he landed the ſame year in the depth of winter, with a hundred and forty knights, and three thouſand foot.

Some time before Henry landed, the king had conceived a project to diſappoint his deſigns, by confirming the crown upon himſelf and his own poſterity. He ſent for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with ſeveral other prelates, and propoſed that his ſon Euſtace ſhould be crowned king with all the uſual ſolemnity; but the biſhops abſolutely refuſed to perform the office, by expreſs orders from the pope, who was the enemy to Stephen, partly upon account of his unjuſt or declining cauſe, but chiefly for his ſtrict alliance with the king of France, who was then engaged in a quarrel againſt that ſee, upon a very tender point relating to the revenues of vacant churches. The king and his ſon were both enraged at the biſhop's refuſal, and kept them priſoners in the chamber where they aſſembled, with many threats to force them

them to a compliance, and ſome other circumſtances of rigour; but all to no purpoſe, ſo that he was at length forced to deſiſt. But the archbiſhop, to avoid farther vexation, fled the realm.

This contrivance of crowning the ſon during the life and reign of the father, which appears ſo abſurd in ſpeculation, was actually performed in the ſucceeding reign; and ſeems to have been taken up by thoſe two princes of French birth and extraction, in imitation of the like practice in their native country, where it was uſual for kings grown old and infirm, or ſwayed by paternal indulgence, to receive their eldeſt ſon into a ſhare of the adminiſtration, with the title of king; a cuſtom borrowed, no doubt, from the later emperors of Rome, who adopted their Cæſars after the like manner.

1153. The king was employed in his uſual exerciſe of beſieging caſtles, when the news was brought of Henry's arrival. He left the work he was about, and marched directly againſt the duke, who was then ſat down before Malmeſbury. But Stephen forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and immediately offered him battle. The duke, although his army was much encreaſed by continual revolts, thought it beſt to gain time, being ſtill in number far inferior to the king, and therefore kept himſelf ſtrongly intrenched. There is ſome difference among writers about the particulars of this war: however, it is generally agreed, that in a ſhort time after, the two armies met, and were prepared for

for battle; when the nobles on both ſides, either dreading the conſequences, or weary of a tedious war, prevailed with the king and duke to agree to a truce for ſome days in order to a peace; which was violently oppoſed by Euſtace, the king's ſon, a youth of great ſpirit and courage, becauſe he knew very well it could not be built but upon the ruin of his intereſts; and therefore finding he could not prevail, he left the army in a rage, and attended by ſome followers, endeavoured to ſatiate his fury, by deſtroying the country in his march: But in a few days, as he ſat at dinner in a caſtle of his own, he fell ſuddenly dead, either through grief, madneſs, or poiſon.

The truce was now expired, and the duke began to renew the war with freſh vigour; but the king was wholly diſpirited upon this fatal accident, and now firſt began to entertain real thoughts of a peace. He had loſt a ſon whom he dearly loved, and with him he likewiſe loſt the alliance of the French king, to whoſe ſiſter the young prince was married. He had indeed another ſon left, but little eſteemed by the nobles and people; nor, as it appears, much regarded by his father. He was now in the decline of his age, decayed in his health, forſaken by his friends, who, ſince the death of Euſtace, fell daily from him; and having no farther care at heart for his poſterity, he thought it high time to ſeek repoſe for his perſon. The nobles ſoon obſerved this diſpoſition in their king, which was ſo agreeable to their own; there-

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fore, by general conſent, Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury was appointed mediator between both princes. All matters were ſoon agreed; an aſſembly of lords was convened at Wincheſter, where the king received the duke with great marks of courteſy and kindneſs. There the peace was confirmed by the king's charter, wherein are expreſſed the terms of agreement. But I ſhall relate only the principal.

The king, by this charter, acknowledged Henry for lawful ſucceſſor to the crown; in which capacity all the nobles paid him homage: and Henry himſelf, with his party, paid homage to Stephen. There is likewiſe a reſervation for William, the king's ſon, of all the honours poſſeſſed by his father before he came to the crown. The king likewiſe acknowledges the obedience of his ſubjects to be no longer due to him than he ſhall obſerve the conditions of this charter. And for the performance of theſe articles, the archbiſhops and biſhops were appointed guarantees. There were ſome other articles agreed on, which are not mentioned in the charter; as, a general pardon; a reſtitution, to the right owners, of thoſe lands and poſſeſſions, which had been uſurped in the time of the troubles; that all caſtles built during the war ſhould be razed to the ground, which are ſaid to have been above eleven hundred; that the rights of the church ſhould be preſerved; with other matters of leſs moment.

Thus, by the prudence of archbiſhop Theobald, the moderation of the two princes engaged, and

the univerſal inclination of the people, a happy period was put to this tedious and troubleſome war: men began to have the proſpect of a long peace: nor was it eaſy to foreſee what could poſſibly ariſe to diſturb it; when diſcovery was made, by accident, of a moſt horrible piece of treachery, which, if it had met with ſucceſs, would have once more ſet the whole nation in a flame. The duke, after the peace, attended the king to London, to be ſhewn to the people as the undoubted ſucceſſor to the crown; and having made a progreſs together through ſome other parts of the kingdom, they came to Canterbury; where Henry received private notice of a deſign upon his life. It has been already obſerved, that the king employed in his wars a body of Flemings, to the great diſcontent of his own ſubjects, with whom they were very ungracious. Theſe foreigners were much diſcontented at the peace, whereby they were likely to become uſeleſs and burdenſome to the preſent king, and hateful to the ſucceſſor. To prevent which, the commanders among them began to practiſe upon the levity and ambition of William the king's ſon. They urged the indignity he had received in being deprived of his birth-right; offered to ſupport his title by their valour, as they had done that of his father; and as an earneſt of their intentions, to remove the chief impediment by diſpathing his rival out of the world. The young prince was eaſily wrought upon to be at the head of this conſpiracy: time and place were fixt; when, upon the day ap-

pointed, William broke his leg by a fall from his horſe; and the conſpirators wanting their leader immediately diſperſed. This diſappointment and delay, as it uſually happens among conſpirators, were ſoon followed by a diſcovery of the whole plot; whereof the duke, with great diſcretion, made no other uſe than to conſult his own ſafety; therefore, without any ſhew of ſuſpicion or diſpleaſure, he took leave of the king, and returned to Normandy.

1154. Stephen lived not above a year to ſhare the happineſs of this peace with his people; in which time he made a progreſs through moſt parts of the kingdom, where he gained univerſal love and veneration, by a moſt affable and courteous behaviour to all men. A few months after his return he went to Dover, to have an interview with the earl of Flanders; where, after a ſhort ſickneſs, he died of the Iliac paſſion, together with his old diſtemper the hæmorrhoids, upon the twenty-fifth day of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.

He was a prince of wonderful endowments, both in body and mind: in his perſon tall and graceful, of great ſtrength as well as vigour: he had a large portion of moſt virtues that can be uſeful in a king towards the happineſs of his ſubjects or himſelf; courteſy and valour, liberality and clemency, in an eminent degree; eſpecially the laſt, which he carried to an extreme, though very pardonable, yet hardly conſiſting with pru-

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dence, or his own ſafety. If we except his uſurpation of the crown, he muſt be allowed a prince of great juſtice; which moſt writers affirm to have been always unblemiſhed, except in that ſingle inſtance: for, as to his treatment of the biſhops and the earl of Cheſter, it ſeems very excuſable by the neceſſity of the time; and it was the general opinion, if he had not uſed that proceeding with the latter, it would have coſt him his crown. Perhaps his injuſtice to the empreſs might likewiſe admit a little extenuation. Four kings ſucceſſively had ſat on the throne without any regard to lineal deſcent; a period beyond the memory of moſt men then alive; whereby the people had loſt much of that devotion they were uſed to bear towards an eſtabliſhed ſucceſſion: beſides, the government of a woman was then a thing unknown, and for that reaſon diſliked by all who profeſſed to hate innovations.

But the wiſdom of this prince was by no means equal to the reſt of his virtues. He came to the crown upon as fair a title as his predeceſſor, being elected by the general conſent of the nobles, through the credit of his brother, and his own perſonal merit. He had no diſturbance for ſome time, which he might eaſily have employed in ſettling the kingdom, and acquiring the love of his people. He had treaſure enough to raiſe and pay armies, without burdening the ſubject. His competitor was a woman, whoſe ſex was the leaſt of her infirmities, and with whom he had already com-

compounded for his quiet by a conſiderable penſion: yet with all theſe advantages he ſeldom was maſter of above half the kingdom at once, and that by the force of perpetual ſtruggling, and with frequent danger of loſing the whole. The principal difficulties he had to encounter, appear to have been manifeſt conſequences of ſeveral moſt imprudent ſteps in his conduct, whereof many inſtances have been produced in the hiſtory of his reign; ſuch as, the unlimited permiſſion of building caſtles; his raiſing the ſiege of a weak place where the empreſs was ſhut up, and muſt, in a few days, have fallen into his hands; his employing the Flemings in his wars, and favouring them above his own ſubjects; and laſtly, that abortive project of crowning his ſon, which procured him at once the hatred and contempt of the clergy, by diſcovering an inclination to violence and injuſtice that he durſt not purſue: whereas, it was nothing elſe but an effect of that haſty and ſudden diſpoſition uſually aſcribed to thoſe of his country, and in a peculiar manner charged to this prince: for, authors give it as a part of his character, to be hot and violent in the beginning of an enterprize, but to ſlacken and grow cold in the proſecution.

He had a juſt ſenſe of religion, and was frequent in attending the ſervice of the church, yet reported to be no great friend of the clergy; which, however, is a general imputation upon all the kings of this realm in that and ſome ſucceeding

reigns, and by no means perſonal to this prince, who deſerved it as little as any.

I do not find any alterations during this reign in the meetings of general aſſemblies, farther than that the commons do not ſeem to have been repreſented in any of them; for which I can aſſign no other reaſon than the will of the king, or the diſturbance of the time. I obſerve the word Parliament is uſed promiſcuouſly among authors, for a general aſſembly of nobles, and for a council of biſhops, or ſynod of the clergy; which renders this matter too perplexed to aſcertain any thing about it.

As for affairs of the church, that deſerve particular mention, I have not met with any; unleſs it ſhould be worth relating, that Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, the pope's legate, who held frequent ſynods during this reign, was the firſt introducer of appeals to Rome, in this kingdom; for which he is blamed by all the monkiſh hiſtorians who give us the account.

THE

THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE SECOND.

A FRAGMENT.

THE ſpirit of war and contention, which had for a long time poſſeſſed 1154
the nation, became ſo effectually laid during the laſt year of king Stephen's reign, that no alteration or diſturbance enſued upon his death, although the new king, after he had received intelligence of it, was detained ſix weeks by contrary winds: beſides, the opinion of this prince's power and virtues had already begotten ſo great an awe and reverence for him among the people, that upon his arrival he found the whole kingdom in a profound peace. He landed at Hoſtreham, about the beginning of December, was received at Wincheſter by a great number of the nobility, who came there to attend and ſwear fealty to him, and three weeks after was crowned at Weſtminſter, about the twenty-third year of his age.

For the farther ſettling of the kingdom, after the long diſtractions in the preceding reign, he ſeized on all the caſtles which remained undeſtroyed ſince the laſt peace between him and king

Stephen; whereof ſome he demoliſhed, and truſted others to the government of perſons in whom he could confide.

But that which moſt contributed to the quiet of the realm, and the general ſatisfaction of his ſubjects, was a proclamation publiſhed, commanding all foreigners to leave England; inforced with a moſt effectual clauſe, whereby a day was fixt, after which it ſhould be capital for any of them to appear; among theſe was William D'Ypres earl of Kent, whoſe poſſeſſions the king ſeized into his own hands.

Theſe foreigners, generally called Flemings by the writers of the Engliſh ſtory, were a ſort of vagabond ſoldiers of fortune, who in thoſe ages, under ſeveral denominations, infeſted other parts of Europe as well as England: they were a mixt people, natives of Arragon, Navarre, Biſcay, Brabant, and other parts of Spain and Flanders. They were ready to be hired to whatever prince thought fit to employ them; but always upon condition to have full liberty of plunder and ſpoil. Nor was it an eaſy matter to get rid of them, when there was no farther need of their ſervice. In England they were always hated by the people, and by this prince in particular, whoſe continual enemies they had been.

After the expulſion of theſe foreigners, and forcing a few refractory lords to a ſurrender of their caſtles, king Henry, like a wiſe prince, began to conſider that a time of ſettled peace was the fitteſt

juncture

juncture to recover the rights of the crown, which had been loſt by the war. He therefore reſumed, by his royal authority, all crown lands that had been alienated by his predeceſſor; alleging, that they were unalienable in themſelves; and beſides, that the grants were void, as coming from a uſurper. Whether ſuch proceedings are agreeable with juſtice, I ſhall not examine; but certainly a prince cannot better conſult his own ſafety, than by diſabling thoſe whom he renders diſcontent; which is effectually done no other way but by depriving them of their poſſeſſions.

1156. While the king was thus employed at home, intelligence came that his brother Geoffry was endeavouring by force to poſſeſs himſelf of the earldom of Anjou, to which he had fair pretenſions; for their father, conſidering what vaſt dominions would fall to his eldeſt ſon, bequeathed that earldom to the ſecond in his laſt ſickneſs, and commanded his nobles then about him to take an oath that they would not ſuffer his body to be buried, until Henry (who was then abſent) ſhould ſwear to obſerve his will. The duke of Normandy, when he came to aſſiſt at his father's obſequies, and found that without his compliance he muſt draw upon himſelf the ſcandal of keeping a father unburied, took the oath that was exacted for obſervance of his will, though very much againſt his own. But after he was in poſſeſſion of England, whether it were that his ambition enlarged with his dominions, or that from the beginning

ginning he had never intended to obſerve what he had ſworn, he prevailed with pope Adrian (of Engliſh birth) to diſpenſe with his oath; and in the ſecond year of his reign went over into Normandy, drove his brother intirely out of Anjou, and forced him to accept a penſion for his maintenance. But the young prince, through the reſentment of this unnatural dealing, in a ſhort time died of grief.

Nor was his treatment more favourable to the king of Scots, whom, upon a ſlight pretence, he took occaſion to diſpoſſeſs of Carliſle, Newcaſtle, and other places granted by the empreſs to that prince's father, for his ſervices and aſſiſtance in her quarrel againſt Stephen.

Having thus recovered whatever he had any title to demand, he began to look out for new acquiſitions. Ireland was in that age a country little known in the world. The legates ſent ſometimes thither from the court of Rome, for urging the payment of annats, or directing other church-affairs, repreſented the inhabitants as a ſavage people, overrun with barbariſm and ſuperſtition: for, indeed, no nation of Europe, where the Chriſtian religion received ſo early and univerſal admittance, was ever ſo late or ſlow in feeling its effects upon their manners and civility *. Inſtead of refining their manners by their faith, they had ſuffered their faith to be corrupted by their manners; true

* The Iriſh had been very learned in former ages, but had declined for ſeveral centuries before the reign of Henry II. See Bede.

religion

religion being almoſt defaced, both in doctrine and diſcipline, after a long courſe of time, among a people wholly ſunk in ignorance and barbarity. There ſeem to have been two reaſons why the inhabitants of that iſland continued ſo long uncultivated; firſt, their ſubjection or vaſſalage to ſo many petty kings, whereof a great number is mentioned by authors, beſide thoſe four or five uſually aſſigned to the ſeveral provinces. Theſe princes were engaged in perpetual quarrels, in doing or revenging injuries of violence, or luſt, or treachery, or injuſtice, which kept them all in a continual ſtate of war. And indeed there is hardly any country, how renowned ſoever in ancient or modern ſtory, which may not be traced from the like original. Neither can a nation come out from this ſtate of confuſion, until it is either reduced under one head at home, or by force or conqueſt becomes ſubject to a foreign adminiſtration.

The other reaſon why civility made ſuch late entrances into that iſland, may be imputed to its natural ſituation, lying more out of the road of commerce or conqueſt than any other part of the known world. All the intercourſe the inhabitants had, was only with the weſtern coaſts of Wales and Scotland; from whence, at leaſt in thoſe ages, they were not likely to learn very much politeneſs.

1155. The king, about the ſecond year of his reign, ſent ambaſſadors to pope Adrian, with injunctions to deſire his licence for reducing the ſavage

vage people of Ireland from their brutiſh way of living, and ſubjecting them to the crown of England. The king proceeded thus, in order to ſet up a title to the iſland, wherein the pope himſelf pretended to be lord of the ſee; for, in his letter, which is an anſwer and grant to the king's requeſts, he inſiſts upon it, that all iſlands, upon their admitting the Chriſtian faith, become ſubject to the ſee of Rome; and the Iriſh themſelves avowed the ſame thing to ſome of the firſt conquerors. In that fore-mentioned letter, the pope highly praiſes the king's generous deſign, and recommends to him the civilizing of the natives, the protection of the church, and the payment of Peter-pence. The ill ſucceſs of all paſt endeavours to procure from a people, ſo miſerable and irreligious, this revenue to the holy ſee, was a main inducement with the pope to be eaſy and liberal in his grant; for the king profeſſed a deſign of ſecuring its regular payment. However, this expedition was not undertaken until ſome years after, when there happened an incident to ſet it forward, as we ſhall relate in its place. * * * * * * * *

HEADS FOR
HENRY THE SECOND'S CHARACTER.

Extracted from the Monks.

[Hard to gather his character from ſuch bad authors.]

A WISE prince, to whom other princes referred their differences; and had ambaſſadors from both empires, eaſt and weſt, as well as others, at once in his court.

Strong and brawny body, patient of cold and heat, big head, broad breaſt, broken voice, temperate in meat, uſing much exerciſe, juſt ſtature, *forma elegantiſſima*, *colore ſubrufo*, *oculis glaucis*, ſharp wit, very great memory, conſtancy in adverſity and in felicity, except at laſt he yielded, becauſe almoſt forſaken of all; liberal, impoſed few tributes, excellent ſoldier and fortunate, wiſe and not unlearned. His vices: mild and promiſing in adverſity, fierce and hard, and a violator of faith in proſperity; covetous to his domeſticks and children, although liberal to ſoldiers and ſtrangers, which turned the former from him; loved profit more than juſtice; very luſtful, which likewiſe turned his ſons and others from him. Roſamond and the labyrinth at Woodſtock. Not very religious; *mortuos milites lugens plus quam vivos amans*; *largus*

largus in publico, parcus in privato. Conſtant in love and hatred, falſe to his word, moroſe, a lover of eaſe. Oppreſſor of nobles, ſullen, and a delayer of juſtice; *verbo varius et verſutus*——uſed churchmen well after Becket's death; charitable to the poor, levied few taxes, hated ſlaughter and cruelty. A great memory, and always knew thoſe he once ſaw.

Very indefatigable in his travels backwards and forwards to Normandy, &c. of moſt endleſs deſires to increaſe his dominions. * * * * *

Catera deſiderantur.

DIREC-

DIRECTIONS

TO

SERVANTS.

RULES THAT CONCERN ALL SERVANTS IN GENERAL.

WHEN your maſter or lady calls a ſervant by name, if that ſervant be not in the way, none of you are to anſwer, for then there will be no end of your drudgery: and maſters themſelves allow, that if a ſervant comes when he is called, it is ſufficient.

When you have done a fault, be always pert and inſolent, and behave yourſelf as if you were the injured perſon; this will immediately put your maſter or lady off their mettle.

If you ſee your maſter wronged by any of your fellow-ſervants, be ſure to conceal it for fear of being called a tell-tale: however there is one exception in caſe of a favourite ſervant, who is juſtly hated by the whole family; who therefore are bound in prudence to lay all the faults they can upon the favourite.

The cook, the butler, the groom, the market-man, and every other ſervant who is concerned in the expences of the family, ſhould act as if his maſter's whole eſtate ought to be applied to that ſervant's particular buſineſs. For inſtance, if the cook computes his maſter's eſtate to be a thouſand pounds a year, he reaſonably concludes, that a thouſand pounds a year will afford meat enough,

and therefore he need not be ſparing; the butler makes the ſame judgement; ſo may the groom and the coachman; and thus every branch of expence will be filled to your maſter's honour.

When you are chid before company (which with ſubmiſſion to our maſters and ladies, is an unmannerly practice) it often happens that ſome ſtranger will have the good nature to drop a word in your excuſe; in ſuch a caſe you will have a good title to juſtify yourſelf, and may rightly conclude, that whenever he chides you afterwards on other occaſions, he may be in the wrong; in which opinion you will be the better confirmed, by ſtating the caſe to your fellow-ſervants in your own way, who will certainly decide in your favour: therefore, as I have ſaid before, whenever you are chidden, complain as if you were injured.

It often happens, that ſervants ſent on meſſages are apt to ſtay out ſomewhat longer than the meſſage requires, perhaps two, four, ſix, or eight hours, or ſome ſuch trifle; for, the temptation to be ſure was great, and fleſh and blood cannot always reſiſt: when you return, the maſter ſtorms, the lady ſcolds; ſtripping, cudgelling, and turning off is the word. But here you ought to be provided with a ſet of excuſes, enough to ſerve on all occaſions: for inſtance, your uncle came fourſcore miles to town this morning on purpoſe to ſee you, and goes back by break of day to-morrow: a brother-ſervant, that borrowed money of you when he was out of place, was running away to Ireland: you

were taking leave of an old fellow-ſervant, who was ſhipping for Barbados: your father ſent a cow to you to ſell, and you could not get a chapman till nine at night: you were taking leave of a dear couſin, who is to be hanged next Saturday: you wrencht your foot againſt a ſtone, and were forced to ſtay three hours in a ſhop, before you could ſtir a ſtep: ſome naſtineſs was thrown on you out of a garret-window, and you were aſhamed to come home before you were cleaned, and the ſmell went off: you were preſſed for the ſea-ſervice, and carried before a juſtice of peace, who kept you three hours before he examined you, and you got off with much a-do: a bailiff by miſtake ſeized you for a debtor, and kept you the whole evening in a ſpunging houſe: you were told your maſter had gone to a tavern, and came to ſome miſchance, and your grief was ſo great that you enquired for his honour in a hundred taverns between Pall-mall and Temple-bar.

Take all tradeſmens parts againſt your maſter, and when you are ſent to buy any thing, never offer to cheapen it, but generouſly pay the full demand. This is highly to your maſter's honour, and may be ſome ſhillings in your pocket; and you are to conſider, if your maſter has paid too much, he can better afford the loſs than a poor tradeſman.

Never ſubmit to ſtir a finger in any buſineſs, but that for which you were particularly hired. For example, if the groom be drunk, or abſent, and

the butler be ordered to ſhut the ſtable-door, the anſwer is ready, An pleaſe your honour, I don't underſtand horſes: if a corner of the hanging wants a ſingle nail to faſten it, and the footman be directed to tack it up, he may ſay, he does not underſtand that ſort of work, but his honour may ſend for the upholſterer.

Maſters and ladies are uſually quarrelling with the ſervants for not ſhutting the doors after them: but neither maſters nor ladies conſider, that thoſe doors muſt be open before they can be ſhut, and that the labour is double to open and ſhut the doors; therefore the beſt, and ſhorteſt, and eaſieſt way is to do neither. But if you are ſo often teized to ſhut the door, that you cannot eaſily forget it, then give the door ſuch a clap as you go out, as will ſhake the whole room, and make every thing rattle in it, to put your maſter and lady in mind that you obſerve their directions.

If you find yourſelf * to grow into favour with your maſter or lady, take ſome opportunity, in a very mild way, to give them warning; and when they aſk the reaſon, and ſeem loth to part with you, anſwer, that you would rather live with them than any body elſe, but a poor ſervant is not to be blamed if he ſtrives to better himſelf; that ſervice is no inheritance; that your work is great, and your wages very ſmall. Upon which, if your

* This is not Engliſh, the particle *to* ought not to precede the word *grow*, after the verb find; — better thus—'If you find yourſelf *growing* into favour,' &c.

maſter has any generoſity, he will add five or ten ſhillings a quarter, rather than let you go: but if you are baulked, and have no mind to go off, get ſome fellow-ſervant to tell your maſter, that he has prevailed upon you to ſtay.

Whatever good bits you can pilfer in the day, ſave them to junket with your fellow-ſervants at night; and take in the butler, provided he will give you drink.

Write your own name and your ſweetheart's, with the ſmoak of a candle on the roof of the kitchen, or the ſervants hall, to ſhew your learning.

If you are a young ſightly fellow, whenever you whiſper your miſtreſs at the table, run your noſe full in her cheek; or if your breath be good, breathe full in her face; this I have known to have had very good conſequences in ſome families.

Never come till you have been called three or four times; for none but dogs will come at the firſt whiſtle: and when the maſter calls "Who's there?" no ſervant is bound to come; for Who's there is no body's name.

When you have broken all your earthen drinking veſſels below ſtairs (which is uſually done in a week) the copper pot will do as well; it can boil milk, heat porridge, hold ſmall-beer, or in caſe of neceſſity, ſerve for a jordan; therefore apply it indifferently to all theſe uſes; but never waſh or ſcour it, for fear of taking off the tin.

Although you are allowed knives for the ſervants hall at meals, yet you ought to ſpare them, and make uſe only of your maſter's.

Let it be a conſtant rule, that no chair, ſtool, or table, in the ſervants hall, or the kitchen, ſhall have above three legs, which has been the ancient and conſtant practice in all the families I ever knew, and is ſaid to be founded upon two reaſons; firſt to ſhew that ſervants are ever in a tottering condition; ſecondly, it was thought a point of humility, that the ſervants chairs and tables ſhould have at leaſt one leg fewer than thoſe of their maſters. I grant there has been an exception to this rule with regard to the cook, who, by old cuſtom, was allowed an eaſy chair to ſleep in after dinner; and yet I have ſeldom ſeen them with above three legs. Now this epidemical lameneſs of ſervants' chairs, is by philoſophers imputed to two cauſes, which are obſerved to make the greateſt revolutions in ſtates and empires; I mean, love and war. A ſtool, a chair, or a table, is the firſt weapon taken up in a general romping or ſkirmiſh; and after a peace, the chairs, if they be not very ſtrong, are apt to ſuffer in the conduct of an amour, the cook being uſually fat and heavy, and the butler a little in drink.

I could never endure to ſee maid-ſervants ſo ungenteel as to walk the ſtreets with their petticoats pinned up; it is a fooliſh excuſe to alledge, their petticoats will be dirty, when they have ſo eaſy a remedy as to walk three or four times down a clean pair of ſtairs after they come home.

When

When you ſtop to tattle with ſome crony ſervant in the ſame ſtreet, leave your own ſtreet-door open, that you may get in without knocking when you come back; otherwiſe your miſtreſs may know you are gone out, and you muſt be chidden.

I do moſt earneſtly exhort you all to unanimity and concord: but miſtake me not: you may quarrel with each other as much as you pleaſe, only always bear in mind, that you have a common enemy, which is your maſter and lady, and you have a common cauſe to defend. Believe an old practitioner; whoever out of malice to a fellow-ſervant carries a tale to his maſter, ſhall be ruined by a general confederacy againſt him.

The general place of rendezvous for all the ſervants both in winter and ſummer, is the kitchen; there the grand affairs of the family ought to be conſulted; whether they concern the ſtable, the dairy, the pantry, the laundry, the cellar, the nurſery, the dining-room, or my lady's chamber: there, as in your own proper element, you can laugh, and ſquall, and romp, in full ſecurity.

When any ſervant comes home drunk, and cannot appear, you muſt all join in telling your maſter, that he is gone to bed very ſick; upon which your lady will be ſo good natured, as to order ſome comfortable thing for the poor man or maid.

When your maſter and lady go abroad together, to dinner, or on a viſit for the evening, you need leave only one ſervant in the houſe, unleſs you

have a black-guard boy to anſwer at the door, and attend the children if there be any. Who is to ſtay at home is to be determined by ſhort and long cuts, and the ſtayer at home may be comforted by a viſit from a ſweet-heart, without danger of being caught together. Theſe opportunities muſt never be miſſed, becauſe they come but ſometimes; and all is ſafe enough while there is a ſervant in the houſe.

When your maſter or lady comes home, and wants a ſervant who happens to be abroad, your anſwer muſt be, that he had but juſt that minute ſtept out, being ſent for by a couſin who was dying.

If your maſter calls you by name, and you happen to anſwer at the fourth call, you need not hurry yourſelf; and if you be chidden for ſtaying, you may lawfully ſay, you came no ſooner, becauſe you did not know what you were called for.

When you are chidden for a fault, as you go out of the room, and down ſtairs, mutter loud enough to be plainly heard; this will make him believe you are innocent.

Whoever comes to viſit your maſter or lady when they are abroad, never burden your memory with the perſon's name, for indeed you have too many other things to remember. Beſides, it is a porter's buſineſs, and your maſter's fault he does not keep one; and who can remember names? and you will certainly miſtake them, and you can nei-

If it be poſſible, never tell a lie to your maſter or lady, unleſs you have ſome hopes that they cannot find it out in leſs than half an hour. When a ſervant is turned off, all his faults muſt be told, although moſt of them were never known by his maſter or lady; and all miſchiefs done by others, charge to him. And when they aſk any of you, why you never acquainted them before? the anſwer is, "Sir, or Madam, really I was afraid it would make you angry; and beſides, perhaps you might think it was malice in me." Where there are little maſters and miſſes in a houſe, they are uſually great impediments to the diverſions of the ſervants; the only remedy is to bribe them with *goody goodies*, that they may not tell tales to papa and mamma.

I adviſe you of the ſervants, whoſe maſter lives in the country, and who expect vales, always to ſtand rank and file when a ſtranger is taking his leave; ſo that he muſt of neceſſity paſs between you; and he muſt have more confidence, or leſs money than uſual, if any of you let him eſcape; and according as he behaves himſelf, remember to treat him the next time he comes.

If you are ſent with ready money to buy any thing at a ſhop, and happen at that time to be out of pocket, ſink the money, and take up the goods on your maſter's account. This is for the honour of your maſter and yourſelf; for he becomes a man of credit at your recommendation.

When

When your lady ſends for you up to her chamber to give you any orders, be ſure to ſtand at the door, and keep it open, fiddling with the lock all the while ſhe is talking to you, and keep the button in your hand, for fear you ſhould forget to ſhut the door after you.

If your maſter or lady happen once in their lives to accuſe you wrongfully, you are a happy ſervant; for you have nothing more to do, than for every fault you commit while you are in their ſervice, to put them in mind of that falſe accuſation, and proteſt yourſelf equally innocent in the preſent caſe.

When you have a mind to leave your maſter, and are too baſhful to break the matter for fear of offending him, the beſt way is to grow rude and ſaucy of a ſudden, and beyond your uſual behaviour, till he finds it neceſſary to turn you off; and when you are gone, to revenge yourſelf, give him and his lady ſuch a character to all your brother-ſervants who are out of place, that none will venture to offer their ſervice.

Some nice ladies who are afraid of catching cold, having obſerved that the maids and fellows below ſtairs often forget to ſhut the door after them, as they come in, or go out into the back yards, have contrived that a pulley and a rope, with a large piece of lead at the end, ſhould be ſo fixt, as to make the door ſhut of itſelf, and require a ſtrong hand to open it; which is an immenſe toil to ſervants, whoſe buſineſs may force them to go in and out

out fifty times in a morning: but ingenuity can do much, for, prudent ſervants have found out an effectual remedy againſt this inſupportable grievance, by tying up the pully in ſuch a manner, that the weight of the lead ſhall have no effect; however, as to my own part, I would rather chooſe to keep the door always open, by laying a heavy ſtone at the bottom of it.

The ſervants candleſticks are generally broken, for nothing can laſt for ever. But you may find out many expedients; you may conveniently ſtick your candle in a bottle, or with a lump of butter againſt the wainſcot, in a powder-horn, or in an old ſhoe, or in a cleft ſtick, or in the barrel of a piſtol, or upon its own greaſe on a table, in a coffee-cup, or a drinking-glaſs, a horn can, a tea-pot, a twiſted napkin, a muſtard-pot, an inkhorn, a marrowbone, a piece of dough, or you may cu a hole in the loaf, and ſtick it there.

When you invite the neighbouring ſervants to junket with you at home in an evening, teach them a peculiar way of tapping or ſcraping at the kitchen-window, which you may hear, but not your maſter or lady; whom you muſt take care not to diſturb or frighten at ſuch unſeaſonable hours.

Lay all faults upon a lap-dog, or favourite cat, a monkey, a parrot, a child; or on the ſervant who was laſt turned off: by this rule you will excuſe yourſelf, do no hurt to any body elſe, and ſave your maſter or lady from the trouble and vexation of chiding.

When

When you want proper inſtruments for work you are about, uſe all expedients you can vent, rather than leave your work undone. inſtance, if the poker be out of the way, or ken, ſtir the fire with the tongs; if the tong not at hand, uſe the muzzle of the bellows, wrong end of the fire ſhovel, the handle of the bruſh, the end of a mop, or your maſter's c If you want paper to ſinge a fowl, tear the book you ſee about the houſe. Wipe your ſh for want of a clout, with the bottom of a curt or a damaſk napkin. Strip your livery lace garters. If the butler wants a jordan, he may the great ſilver cup.

There are ſeveral ways of putting out can and you ought to be inſtructed in them all: may run the candle end againſt the wain which puts the ſnuff out immediately: you lay it on the ground, and tread the ſnuff out your foot: you may hold it upſide down, un is choaked with its own greaſe, or cram it the ſocket of the candleſtick: you may whi round in your hand till it goes out: when yo to bed, after you have made water, you may the candle end into the chamber pot: you ſpit on your finger and thumb, and pinch ſnuff till it goes out. The cook may run candle's noſe into the meal tub, or the groom a veſſel of oats, or a lock of hay, or a hea litter: the houſe-maid may put out her candl running it againſt a looking-glaſs, which not

cl

cleans ſo well as candle-ſnuff: but the quickeſt and beſt of all methods is, to blow it out with your breath, which leaves the candle clear, and readier to be lighted.

There is nothing ſo pernicious in a family as a tell-tale; againſt whom it muſt be the principal buſineſs of you all to unite: whatever office he ſerves in, take all opportunities to ſpoil the buſineſs he is about, and to croſs himſelf in every thing. For inſtance, if the butler be a tell-tale, break his glaſſes whenever he leaves the pantry-door open; or lock the cat or the maſtiff in it, who will do as well: miſlay a fork or a ſpoon ſo as he may never find it. If it be the cook, whenever ſhe turns her back, throw a lump of ſoot, or a handful of ſalt, in the pot, or ſmoaking coals into the dripping pan, or daub the roaſt meat with the back of the chimney, or hide the key of the jack. If a footman be ſuſpected, let the cook daub the back of his new livery; or when he is going up with a diſh of ſoup, let her follow him ſoftly with a ladle full, and dribble it all the way up ſtairs to the dining room, and then let the houſe-maid make ſuch a noiſe, that her lady may hear it. The waiting-maid is very likely to be guilty of this fault, in hopes to ingratiate herſelf: in this caſe the laundreſs muſt be ſure to tear her ſmocks in the waſhing, and yet waſh them but half; and when ſhe complains, tell all the houſe that ſhe ſweats ſo much, and her fleſh is ſo naſty, that ſhe fouls a ſmock more in one hour, than the kitchen-maid does in a week.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

DIRECTIONS to the BUTLER.

IN my directions to ſervants, I find from my long obſervation, that you butlers are the principal perſons concerned.

Your buſineſs being of the greateſt variety, and requiring the greateſt exactneſs, I ſhall, as well as I can recollect, run through the ſeveral branches of your office, and order my inſtructions accordingly.

In waiting at the ſide-board, take all poſſible care to ſave your own trouble, and your maſter's drinking-glaſſes: therefore, firſt, ſince thoſe who dine at the ſame table are ſuppoſed to be friends, let them all drink out of the ſame glaſs without waſhing, which will ſave you much pains, as well as the hazard of breaking them. Give no perſon any liquor until he has called for it thrice at leaſt; by which means, ſome, out of modeſty, and others, out of forgetfulneſs, will call the ſeldomer, and this your maſter's liquor be ſaved.

If any one deſires a glaſs of bottled ale, firſt ſhake the bottle, to ſee whether any thing be in it; then taſte it, to ſee what liquor it is, that you may not be miſtaken; and laſtly, wipe the mouth of the bottle with the palm of your hand, to ſhew your cleanlineſs.

Be

Be more careful to have the cork in the belly of the bottle than in the mouth; and if the cork be muſty, or white friars in your liquor, your maſter will ſave the more.

If an humble companion, a chaplain, a tutor, or a dependent couſin, happen to be at table, whom you find to be little regarded by the maſter, and the company (which nobody is readier to diſcover and obſerve than we ſervants) it muſt be the buſineſs of you and the footman, to follow the example of your betters, by treating him many degrees worſe than any of the reſt; and you cannot pleaſe your maſter better, or at leaſt your lady.

If any one calls for ſmall-beer toward the end of dinner, do not give yourſelf the pains of going down to the cellar, but gather the droppings and leavings out of the ſeveral cups and glaſſes and ſalvers into one; but turn your back to the company for fear of being obſerved. On the contrary, when any one calls for ale toward the end of dinner, fill the largeſt tankard-cup top-full, by which you will have the greateſt part left to oblige your fellow-ſervants, without the ſin of ſtealing from your maſter.

There is likewiſe a perquiſite full as honeſt, by which you have a chance of getting every day the beſt part of a bottle of wine for yourſelf; for, you are to ſuppoſe, that gentlefolks will not care for the remainder of a bottle; therefore always ſet a freſh one before them after dinner, although there has not been above a glaſs drunk of the other.

Take

Take ſpecial care that your bottles be not muſty before you fill them; in order to which, blow ſtrongly into the mouth of every bottle; and then if you ſmell nothing but your own breath, immediately fill it.

If you are ſent down in haſte to draw any drink, and find it will not run, do not be at the trouble of opening a vent, but blow ſtrongly into the foſſet, and you will find it immediately pour into your mouth; or take out the vent, but do not ſtay to put it in again, for fear your maſter ſhould want you.

If you are curious to taſte ſome of your maſter's choice bottles, empty as many of them juſt below the neck as will make the quantity you want; but then take care to fill them up again with clean water, that you may not leſſen your maſter's liquor.

There is an excellent invention found out of late years in the management of ale and ſmall beer at the ſide-board: for inſtance, a gentleman calls for a glaſs of ale and drinks but half; another calls for ſmall-beer: you immediately turn out the remainder of the ale into the tankard, and fill the glaſs with ſmall-beer; and ſo backwards and forwards, as long as dinner laſts, by which you anſwer three great ends: Firſt, you ſave yourſelf the trouble of waſhing, and conſequently the danger of breaking your glaſſes: Secondly, you are ſure not to be miſtaken in giving gentlemen the liquor they call for: And laſtly, by this method you are certain that nothing is loſt.

Becauſe

Becauſe butlers are apt to forget to bring up their ale and beer time enough, be ſure you remember to have up yours two hours before dinner; and place them in the ſunny part of the room, to let people ſee that youhave not been negligent.

Some butlers have a way of decanting (as they call it) bottled ale, by which they loſe a good part of the bottom; let your method be to turn the bottle directly up ſide down, which will make the liquor appear double the quantity: by this means, you will be ſure not to loſe one drop, and the froth will conceal the muddineſs.

Clean your plate, wipe your knives, and rub the dirty tables, with the napkins and table-cloths uſed that day; for it is but one waſhing, and, beſides, it will ſave you wearing out the coarſe rubbers; and in reward of ſuch good huſbandry, my judgment is, that you may lawfully make uſe of the fineſt damaſk napkins for night-caps for yourſelf.

When you clean your plate, leave the whiting plainly to be ſeen in all the chinks, for fear your lady ſhould not believe you had cleaned it.

There is nothing wherein the ſkill of a butler more appears, than in the management of candles, whereof although ſome part may fall to the ſhare of the other ſervants, yet you being the principal perſon concerned, I ſhall direct my inſtructions upon this article to you only, leaving to your fellow-ſervants to apply them upon occaſion.

First, to avoid burning day-light, and to ſave your maſter's candles, never bring them up till half an hour after it be dark, although they are called for ever ſo often.

Let your ſockets be full of greaſe to the brim, with the old ſnuff at the top, and then ſtick on your freſh candles. It is true, this may endanger their falling, but the candles will appear ſo much the longer and handſomer before company. At other times, for variety, put your candles looſe in the ſockets, to ſhew they are clean to the bottom.

When your candle is too big for the ſocket, melt to it the right ſize in the fire; and to hide the ſmoke, wrap it in paper half way up.

You cannot but obſerve, of late years, the great extravagance among the gentry upon the article of candles, which a good butler ought by all means to diſcourage, both to ſave his own pains, and his maſter's money: this may be contrived ſeveral ways; eſpecially when you are ordered to put candles into the ſconces.

Sconces are great waſters of candles; and you, who are always to conſider the advantage of your maſter, ſhould do your utmoſt to diſcourage them: therefore your buſineſs muſt be to preſs the candle with both your hands into the ſocket, ſo as to make it lean in ſuch a manner, that the greaſe may drop all upon the floor, if ſome lady's head dreſs or gentleman's perriwig be not ready to intercept it: you may likewiſe ſtick the candle ſo

looſe,

looſe, that it will fall upon the glaſs of the ſconce, and break it into ſhatters; this will ſave your maſter many a fair penny in the year, both in candles and to the glaſs-man, and yourſelf much labour; for the ſconces ſpoiled cannot be uſed.

Never let the candles burn too low, but give them as a lawful perquiſite to your friend the cook, to increaſe her kitchen-ſtuff; or if this be not allowed in your houſe, give them in charity to the poor neighbours, who often run on your errands.

When you cut bread for a toaſt, do not ſtand idly watching it, but lay it on the coals, and mind your other buſineſs: then come back, and if you find it toaſted quite through, ſcrape off the burnt ſide, and ſerve it up.

When you dreſs up your ſide-board, ſet the beſt glaſſes as near the edge of the table as you can; by which means they will caſt a double luſtre, and make a much finer figure; and the conſequence can be at moſt, but the breaking half a dozen, which is a trifle in your maſter's pocket.

Waſh the glaſſes with your own water, to ſave your maſter's ſalt.

When any ſalt is ſpilt on the table, do not let it be loſt, but when dinner is done, fold up the table-cloth with the ſalt in it, then ſhake the ſalt out into the ſalt-cellar to ſerve next day: but the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way is, when you remove the cloth, to wrap the knives, forks, ſpoons, ſalt cellars, broken bread, and ſcraps of meat altogether,

in the table-cloath; by which you will be ſure to loſe nothing, unleſs you think it better to ſhake them out of the window among the beggars, that they may with more convenience eat the ſcraps.

Leave the dregs of wine, ale, and other liquors in the bottles: to rince them is but loſs of time, ſince all will be done at once in a general waſhing; and you will have a better excuſe for breaking them.

If your maſter has many muſty, or very foul and cruſted bottles, I adviſe you, in point of conſcience, that thoſe may be the firſt you truck at the next ale-houſe for ale or brandy.

When a meſſage is ſent to your maſter, be kind to your brother-ſervant who brings it; give him the beſt liquor in your keeping, for your maſter's honour; and at the firſt opportunity he will do the ſame to you.

After ſupper, if it be dark, carry your plate and china together in the ſame baſket, to ſave candle-light, for you know your pantry well enough to put them up in the dark.

When company is expected at dinner, or in the evenings, be ſure to be abroad, that nothing may be got which is under your key; by which your maſter will ſave his liquor, and not wear out his plate.

I come now to a moſt important part of your œconomy, the bottling of a hogſhead of wine, wherein I recommend three virtues, cleanlineſs, frugality, and brotherly love. Let your corks be of the

longeſt kind you can get; which will ſave ſome wine in the neck of every bottle: as to your bottles, chooſe the ſmalleſt you can find, which will increaſe the number of dozens, and pleaſe your maſter; for a bottle of wine is always a bottle of wine whether it hold more or leſs; and if your maſter has his proper number of dozens, he cannot complain.

Every bottle muſt be firſt rinced with wine, for fear of any moiſture left in the waſhing: ſome, out of a miſtaken thrift, will rince a dozen bottles with the ſame wine; but I would adviſe you, for more caution, to change the wine at every ſecond bottle; a gill may be enough. Have bottles ready by to ſave it; and it will be a good perquiſite either to ſell, or drink with the cook.

Never draw your hogſhead too low; nor tilt it for fear of diſturbing your liquor. When it begins to run ſlow, and before the wine grows cloudy, ſhake the hogſhead, and carry a glaſs of it to your maſter; who will praiſe you for your diſcretion, and give you all the reſt as a perquiſite to your place: you may tilt the hogſhead the next day, and in a fortnight get a dozen or two of good clear wine to diſpoſe of as you pleaſe.

In bottling wine, fill your mouth full of corks, together with a large plug of tobacco, which will give to the wine the true taſte of the weed, ſo delightful to all good judges in drinking.

When you are ordered to decant a ſuſpicious bottle, if a pint be out, give your hand a dextrous

ſhake, and ſhew it in a glaſs, that it begins to be muddy.

When a hogſhead of wine or any other liquor is to be bottled off, waſh your bottles immediately before you begin; but, be ſure not to drain them, by which good management your maſter will ſave ſome gallons in every hogſhead.

This is the time, that in honour to your maſter you ought to ſhew your kindneſs to your fellow-ſervants, and eſpecially to the cook; for what ſignifies a few flagons out of a whole hogſhead? But make them be drunk in your preſence, for fear they ſhould be given to other folks, and ſo your maſter be wronged; but adviſe them, if they get drunk, to go to bed, and leave word they are ſick; which laſt caution I would have all the ſervants obſerve, both male and female.

If your maſter finds the hogſhead to fall ſhort of his expectation, what is plainer, than that the veſſel leaked: that the wine-cooper had not filled it in proper time: that the merchant cheated him with a hogſhead below the common meaſure?

When you are to get water on for tea after dinner (which in many families is part of your office) to ſave firing, and to make more haſte, pour it into the tea kettle from the pot where cabbage or fiſh have been boiling, which will make it much wholeſomer by curing the acid and corroding quality of the tea.

Be ſaving of your candles, and let thoſe in the ſconces of the hall, the ſtairs, and in the lanthorn, burn

burn down into the ſockets, until they out go of themſelves; for which your maſter and lady will commend your thriftneſs, as ſoon as they ſhall ſmell the ſnuff.

If a gentleman leaves a ſnuff-box or pick-tooth-caſe on the table after dinner, and goes away, look upon it as part of your vails, for ſo it is allowed by ſervants, and you do no wrong to your maſter or lady.

If you ſerve a country 'ſquire, when gentlemen and ladies come to dine at your houſe, never fail to make their ſervants drunk, and eſpecially the coachman, for the honour of your maſter; to which in all your actions you muſt have a ſpecial regard, as being the beſt judge: for the honour of every family is depoſited in the hands of the cook, the butler, and the groom, as I ſhall hereafter demonſtrate.

Snuff the candles at ſupper as they ſtand on the table, which is much the ſecureſt way: becauſe, if the burning ſnuff happens to get out of the ſnuffers, you have a chance that it may fall into a diſh of a ſoup, ſack-poſſet, rice-milk, or the like, where it will be immediately extinguiſhed with very little ſtink.

When you have ſnuffed the candle, always leave the ſnuffers open, for the ſnuff will of itſelf burn away to aſhes, and cannot fall out and dirty the table when you ſnuff the candles again.

That the ſalt may lie ſmooth in the ſalt-cellar, preſs it down with your moiſt palm.

When a gentleman is going away after dining with your maſter, be ſure to ſtand full in view, and follow him to the door, and as you have opportunity, look full in his face, perhaps it may bring you a ſhilling; but if the gentleman has lain there a night, get the cook, the houſe-maid, the ſtable-men, the ſcullion, and gardiner, to accompany you, and to ſtand in his way to the hall in a line on each ſide of him: if the gentleman performs handſomely, it will do him honour, and coſt your maſter nothing.

You need not wipe your knife to cut bread for the table, becauſe in cutting a ſlice or two it will wipe itſelf.

Put your finger into every bottle to feel whether it be full, which is the ſureſt way, for feeling has no fellow.

When you go down to the cellar to draw ale or ſmall-beer, take care to obſerve directly the following method: hold the veſſel between the finger and thumb of your right hand, with the palm upwards; then hold the candle between your fingers, but a little leaning towards the mouth of the veſſel; then take out the ſpiggot with your left hand, and clap the point of it in your mouth, and keep your left hand to watch accidents; when the veſſel is full, withdraw the ſpigot from your mouth, well wetted with ſpittle, which being a ſlimy conſiſtence will make it ſtick faſter in the foſſet: if any tallow drops into the veſſel you may eaſily (if you think of it) remove it with a ſpoon.

Always

Always lock up a cat in the cloſet where you keep your china plates, for fear the mice may ſteal in and break them.

A good butler always breaks off the point of his bottle-ſcrew in two days, by trying which is hardeſt, the point of the ſcrew, or the neck of the bottle: in this caſe, to ſupply the want of a ſcrew, after the ſtump has torn the cork in pieces, make uſe of a ſilver fork, and when the ſcraps of the cork are almoſt drawn out, ſtir the mouth of the bottle into the ciſtern three or four times, until you quite clear it.

If a gentleman dines often with your maſter, and gives you nothing when he goes away, you may uſe ſeveral methods to ſhew him ſome marks of your diſpleaſure, and quicken his memory: if he calls for bread or drink, you may pretend not to hear, or ſend it to another who called after him; if he aſks for wine, let him ſtay a while, and then ſend him ſmall-beer; give him always foul glaſſes; ſend him a ſpoon when he wants a knife; wink at the footman to leave him without a plate: by theſe, and the like expedients, you may probably be a better man by half a crown before he leaves the houſe, provided you watch an opportunity of ſtanding by, when he is going.

If your lady loves play, your fortune is fixed for ever; moderate gaming will be a perquiſite of ten ſhillings a week; and in ſuch a family I would rather chooſe to be butler than chaplain, or even rather than be ſteward; it is all ready money, and

and get without labour, unleſs your lady happe to be one of thoſe, who either obliges you to fi wax-candles, or forces you to divide it with ſor favourite ſervants; but, at worſt, the old car are your own; and if the gameſters play deep grow peeviſh, they will change the cards ſo ofte that the old ones will be a conſiderable advanta by ſelling them to coffee-houſes, or families wl love play, but cannot afford better than cards ſecond hand: when you attend at the ſervice, l ſure to leave new packs within the reach of tl gameſters; which, thoſe who have ill luck w readily take to change their fortune; and no and then an old pack mingled with the reſt w eaſily paſs. Be ſure to be very officious on pl nights, and ready with your candles to light o your company, and have ſalvers of wine at ha to give them when they call; but manage with the cook, that there be no ſupper, becauſe will be ſo much ſaved in your maſter's family and becauſe a ſupper will conſiderably leſſen yo gains.

Next to cards, there is nothing ſo profitable you as bottles; in which perquiſite you have n competitors except the footmen, who are apt t ſteal and vend them for pots of beer: but yo are bound to prevent any ſuch abuſes in you maſter's family: the footmen are not to anſwe for what are broken at a general bottling; an thoſe may be as many as your diſcretion wi make them.

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The profit of glaſſes is ſo very inconſiderable, that it is hardly worth mentioning; it conſiſts only in a ſmall preſent made by the glaſſman, and about four ſhillings in the pound added to the prices for your trouble and ſkill in chooſing them. If your maſter has a large ſtock of glaſſes, and you or your fellow-ſervants happen to break any of them without your maſter's knowledge, keep it a ſecret till there are not enough left to ſerve the table, then tell your maſter that the glaſſes are gone; this will be but one vexation to him, which is much better than fretting once or twice a week; and it is the office of a good ſervant to diſcompoſe his maſter and his lady as ſeldom as he can; and here the cat and dog will be of great uſe to take the blame from you. Note, that bottles miſſing are ſuppoſed to be half ſtolen by ſtragglers and other ſervants; and the other half broken by accident, and a general waſhing.

Whet the backs of your knives until they are as ſharp as the edge; which will have this advantage, that when gentlemen find them blunt on one ſide, they may try the other; and to ſhew you ſpare no pains in ſharpening the knives, whet them ſo long, till you wear out a good part of the iron, and even the bottom of the ſilver-handle. This does credit to your maſter, for it ſhews good houſe-keeping, and the goldſmith may one day make you a preſent.

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Your lady, when ſhe finds the ſmall-beer or ale dead, will blame you for not remembering to put the peg into the vent-hole. This is a great miſtake, nothing being plainer, than that the peg keeps the air in the veſſel, which ſpoils the drink, and therefore ought to be let out; but if ſhe inſiſts upon it, to prevent the trouble of pulling out the vent, and putting it in a dozen times a day, which is not to be borne by a good ſervant, leave the ſpigot half out at night, and you will find, with only the loſs of two or three quarts of liquor, the veſſel will run freely.

When you prepare your candles, wrap them up in a piece of brown paper, and ſo ſtick them into the ſocket; let the paper come half way up the candle, which looks handſome, if any body ſhould come in.

Do all in the dark, to ſave your maſter's candles.

CHAP. II.

Directions to the COOK.

ALTHOUGH I am not ignorant, that it has been a long time, ſince the cuſtom began among people of quality to keep men cooks, and generally of the French nation; yet becauſe my treatiſe is chiefly calculated for the general run of knights, 'ſquires, and gentlemen both in town and country, I ſhall therefore apply to you, Mrs. Cook,

Cook, as a woman: however, a great part of what I intend may ſerve for either ſex; and your part naturally follows the former, becauſe the butler and you are joined in intereſt; your vails are generally equal, and paid when others are diſappointed: you can junket together at nights upon your own prog, when the reſt of the houſe are a-bed; and have it in your power to make every fellow-ſervant your friend; you can give a good bit or a good ſup to the little maſters and miſſes, and gain their affections: a quarrel between you is very dangerous to you both, and will probably end in one of you being turned off; in which fatal caſe, perhaps it will not be ſo eaſy in ſome time to cotton with another. And now, Mrs. Cook, I proceed to give you my inſtructions; which I deſire you will get ſome fellow-ſervant in the family to read to you conſtantly one night in every week when you are going to bed, whether you ſerve in town or country; for my leſſons ſhall be fitted for both.

If your lady forgets at ſupper that there is any cold meat in the houſe, do not you be ſo officious as to put her in mind; it is plain ſhe did not want it; and if ſhe recollects it the next day, ſay ſhe gave you no orders, and it is ſpent; therefore, for fear of telling a lie, diſpoſe of it with the butler, or any other crony, before you go to bed.

Never ſend up a leg of a fowl at ſupper, while there is a cat or a dog in the houſe, that can be accuſed for running away with it: but if there happen to be neither, you muſt lay it upon the rats, or a ſtrange greyhound.

It is ill houſewifery to foul your kitchen-rubbers with wiping the bottoms of the diſhes you ſend up, ſince the table-cloth will do as well, and is changed every meal.

Never clean your ſpits after they have been uſed; for the greaſe left upon them by meat is the beſt thing to preſerve them from ruſt; and when you make uſe of them again, the ſame greaſe will keep the inſide of the meat moiſt.

If you live in a rich family, roaſting and boiling are below the dignity of your office, and which it becomes you to be ignorant of; therefore leave that work wholly to the kitchen-wench, for fear of diſgracing the family you live in.

If you are employed in marketing, buy your meat as cheap as you can; but when you bring in your accounts, be tender of your maſter's honour, and ſet down the higheſt rate; which beſides is but juſtice; for nobody can afford to ſell at the ſame rate that he buys, and I am confident that you may charge ſafely; ſwear that you gave no more than what the butcher and poulterer aſked. If your lady orders you to ſet up a piece of meat for ſupper, you are not to underſtand that you muſt ſet it up all, therefore you may give half to yourſelf and the butler.

Good cooks cannot abide what they juſtly call fiddling work, where abundance of time is ſpent and little done: ſuch for inſtance, is the dreſſing ſmall birds, requiring a world of cookery and clutter, and a ſecond or third ſpit, which by the way

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is abſolutely needleſs; for it will be a very ridiculous thing indeed, if a ſpit, which is ſtrong enough to turn a ſirloin of beef, ſhould not be able to turn a lark; however, if your lady be nice, and is afraid that a large ſpit will tear them, place them handſomely in the dripping-pan, where the fat of roaſted mutton or beef falling on the birds will ſerve to baſte them, and ſo ſave both time and butter: for what cook of any ſpirit would loſe her time in picking larks, wheat-ears, and other ſmall birds? Therefore if you cannot get the maids or the young miſſes to aſſiſt you, e'en make ſhort work, and either ſinge or flay them; there is no great loſs in the ſkins, and the fleſh is juſt the ſame.

If you are employed in market, do not accept a treat of a beef-ſtake and a pot of ale from the butcher, which I think in conſcience is no better than wronging your maſter; but do you always take that perquiſite in money, if you do not go in truſt; or in poundage, when you pay the bills.

The kitchen-bellows being uſually out of order with ſtirring the fire with the muzzle to ſave the tongs and poker, borrow the bellows out of your lady's bedchamber, which being leaſt uſed are commonly the beſt in the houſe; and if you happen to damage or greaſe them, you have a chance to have them left entirely for your own uſe.

Let a black-guard boy be always about the houſe to ſend on your errands, and go to market for

for you on rainy days, which will ſave your cloaths; and make you appear more creditable to your miſtreſs.

If your miſtreſs allows you the kitchen-ſtuff, in return of her generoſity take care to boil and roaſt your meat ſufficiently. If ſhe keeps it for her own profit, do her juſtice; and rather than let a good fire be wanting, enliven it now and then with the dripping and the butter that happens to turn to oil.

Send up your meat well ſtuck with ſkewers, to make it look round and plump; and an iron ſkewer rightly employed now and then will make it look handſomer.

When you roaſt a long joint of meat, be careful only about the middle, and leave the two extreme parts raw, which will ſerve another time, and will alſo ſave firing.

When you ſcour your plates and diſhes, bend the brim inward, ſo as to make them hold the more.

Always keep a large fire in the kitchen when there is a ſmall dinner, or the family dines abroad, that the neighbours, ſeeing the ſmoak, may commend your maſter's houſekeeping: but, when much company is invited, then be as ſparing as poſſible of your coals, becauſe a great deal of the meat being half raw will be ſaved, and ſerve next day.

Boil your meat conſtantly in pump water, becauſe you muſt ſometimes want river or pipe water

water; and then your miſtreſs obſerving your meat of a different colour, will chide you when you are not in fault.

When you have plenty of fowl in the larder, leave the door open in pity to the poor cat, if ſhe be a good mouſer.

If you find it neceſſary to go to market in a wet day, take out your miſtreſs's riding-hood and cloak to ſave your cloaths.

Get three or four chair-women to attend you conſtantly in the kitchen, whom you pay at ſmall charges, only with the broken meat, a few coals, and all the cinders.

To keep troubleſome ſervants out of the kitchen, always leave the winder ſticking on the jack to fall on their heads.

If a lump of ſoot falls into the ſoup, and you cannot conveniently get it out, ſtir it well, and it will give the ſoup a high French taſte.

If you melt your butter to oil, be under no concern, but ſend it up, for oil is a genteeler ſauce than butter.

Scrape the bottoms of your pots and kettles with a ſilver ſpoon, for fear of giving them a taſte of copper.

When you ſend up butter for ſauce, be ſo thrifty as to let it be half water; which is alſo much wholeſomer.

If your butter, when it is melted, taſtes of braſs, it is your maſter's fault, who will not allow you a ſilver ſauce-pan; beſides, the leſs of it will go

farther, and new tinning is very chargeable: if you have a ſilver ſauce-pan, and the butter ſmells of ſmoak, lay the fault upon the coals.

Never make uſe of a ſpoon in any thing that you can do with your hands, for fear of wearing out your maſter's plate.

When you find that you cannot get dinner ready at the time appointed, put the clock back, and then it may be ready to a minute.

Let a red-hot coal now and then fall into the dripping-pan, that the ſmoak of the dripping may aſcend, and give the roaſt meat a high taſte.

You are to look upon the kitchen as your dreſſing-room; but you are not to waſh your hands till you have gone to the neceſſary-houſe, and ſpitted your meat, truſſed your fowl, picked your ſallad, not indeed till after you have ſent up your ſecond courſe; for your hands will be ten times fouler with the many things you are forced to handle; but when your work is over, one waſhing will ſerve for all.

There is but one part of your dreſſing that I would admit while the victuals are boiling, roaſting, or ſtewing; I mean the combing your head, which loſes no time, becauſe you can ſtand over your cookery, and watch it with one hand, while you are uſing your comb with the other.

If any of the combings happen to be ſent up with the victuals, you may ſafely lay the fault upon any of the footmen that has vexed you: as thoſe gentlemen are ſometimes apt to be malicious,

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if you refuſe them a ſop in the pan, or a ſlice from the ſpit, much more when you diſcharge a ladleful of hot porridge on their legs, or ſend them up to their maſters with a diſh-clout pinned at their tails.

In roaſting and boiling, order the kitchen-maid to bring none but the large coals, and ſave the ſmall ones for the fires above ſtairs; the firſt are propereſt for dreſſing meat, and when they are out, if you happen to miſcarry in any diſh, you may fairly lay the fault upon want of coals; beſides, the cinder-pickers will be ſure to ſpeak ill of your maſter's houſe-keeping, where they do not find plenty of large cinders mixt with freſh large coals: thus you may dreſs your meat with credit, do an act of charity, raiſe the honour of your maſter, and ſometimes get ſhare of a pot of ale for your bounty to the cinder-woman.

As ſoon as you have ſent up the ſecond courſe, you have nothing to do (in a great family) until ſupper: therefore ſcour your hands and face, put on your hood and ſcarf, and take your pleaſure among your cronies, till nine or ten at night.—But dine firſt.

Let there be always a ſtrict friendſhip between you and the butler, for it is both your intereſts to be united: the butler often wants a comfortable tit-bit, and you much oftener a cool cup of good liquor. However, be cautious of him, for he is ſometimes an inconſtant lover, becauſe he has great advantage to allure the maids with a glaſs of ſack, or white wine and ſugar.

When you roaſt a breaſt of veal, remember your ſweet-heart the butler loves a ſweet-bread; therefore ſet it aſide till evening: you can ſay, the cat or the dog has run away with it, or you found it tainted, or fly-blown; and beſides it looks as well at the table without it as with it.

When you make the company wait long for dinner, and the meat be over-done, which is generally the caſe, you may lawfully lay the fault upon your lady, who hurried you ſo to ſend up dinner, that you was forced to ſend it up too much boiled and roaſted.

If your dinner miſcarries in almoſt every diſh, how could you help it? You were teaſed by the footmen coming into the kitchen; and to prove it true, take occaſion to be angry, and throw a ladleful of broth on one or two of their liveries; beſides, Friday and Childermas-day are two croſs-days in the week, and it is impoſſible to have good luck on either of them; therefore on thoſe two days you have a lawful excuſe.

When you are in haſte to take down your diſhes, tip them in ſuch a manner, that a dozen will fall together upon the dreſſer, juſt ready for your hand.

To ſave time and trouble, cut your apples and onions with the ſame knife; and well-bred gentry love the taſte of an onion in every thing they eat.

Lump three or four pounds of butter together with your hand, then daſh it againſt the wall juſt over

over the dreſſer, ſo as to have it ready to pull by pieces as you have occaſion for it.

If you have a ſilver ſauce-pan for the kitchen uſe, let me adviſe you to batter it well, and keep it always black; this will be for your maſter's honour, for it ſhews there has been conſtant good houſe-keeping: and make room for the ſauce-pan by wriggling it on the coals, &c.

In the ſame manner, if you are allowed a large ſilver ſpoon for the kitchen, let half the bole of it be worn out with continual ſcraping and ſtirring, and often ſay merrily, This ſpoon owes my maſter no ſervice.

When you ſend up a meſs of broth, water-gruel, or the like, to your maſter in a morning, do not forget with your thumb and two fingers to put ſalt on the ſide of the plate; for if you make uſe of a ſpoon or the end of a knife, there may be danger that the ſalt would fall, and that would be a ſign of ill luck. Only remember to lick your thumb and fingers clean, before you offer to touch the ſalt.

CHAP. III.

DIRECTIONS to the FOOTMAN.

YOUR employment, being of a mixt nature, extends to a great variety of buſineſs, and you ſtand in a fair way of being the favourite of your maſter or miſtreſs, or of the young maſters and miſſes; you are the fine gentleman of the family, with whom all the maids are in love. You are ſometimes a pattern of dreſs to your maſter, and ſometimes he is ſo to you. You wait at table in all companies, and conſequently have the opportunity to ſee and know the world, and to underſtand men and manners. I confeſs your vails are but few, unleſs you are ſent with a preſent, or attend the tea in the country; but you are called Mr. in the neigbourhood, and ſometimes pick up a fortune; perhaps your maſter's daughter; and I have known many of your tribe to have good commands in the army. In town you have a ſeat reſerved for you in the play-houſe, where you have an opportunity of becoming wits and criticks: you have no profeſſed enemy except the rabble, and my lady's waiting-woman, who are ſometimes apt to call you ſkip-kennel. I have a true veneration for your office, becauſe I had once the honour to be one of your order,

which

which I fooliſhly left by demeaning myſelf with accepting an employment in the cuſtom-houſe. But that you, my brethen, may come to better fortunes, I ſhall here deliver my inſtructions, which have been the fruits of much thought and obſervation, as well as of ſeven years experience.

In order to learn the ſecrets of other families, tell them thoſe of your maſter's; thus you will grow a favourite both at home and abroad, and regarded as a perſon of importance.

Never be ſeen in the ſtreets with a baſket or bundle in your hands, and carry nothing but what you can hide in your pocket, otherwiſe you will diſgrace your calling: to prevent which, always retain a black-guard boy to carry your loads; and if you want farthings, pay him with a good ſlice of bread, or ſcrap of meat.

Let a ſhoe-boy clean your own ſhoes firſt, for fear of fouling the chamber, then let him clean your maſter's; keep him on purpoſe for that uſe, and to run of errands, and pay him with ſcraps. When you are ſent on an errand, be ſure to edge in ſome buſineſs of your own, either to ſee your ſweet-heart, or drink a pot of ale with ſome brother-ſervants, which is ſo much time clear gained.

There is a great controverſy about the moſt convenient and genteel way of holding your plate at meals; ſome ſtick it between the frame and the back of the chair, which is an excellent expedient, where the make of the chair will allow it:

others, for fear the plate ſhould fall, graſp it ſo firmly, that their thumb reacheth to the middle of the hollow; which however, if your thumb be dry, is no ſecure method; and therefore in that caſe, I adviſe your wetting the ball of it with your tongue: as to that abſurd practice of letting the back of the plate lye leaning on the hollow of your hand, which ſome ladies recommend, it is univerſally exploded, being liable to ſo many accidents. Others again are ſo refined, that they hold their plate directly under the left arm-pit, which is the beſt ſituation for keeping it warm; but this may be dangerous in the article of taking away a diſh, where your plate may happen to fall upon ſome of the company's heads. I confeſs myſelf to have objected againſt all theſe ways, which I have frequently tried; and therefore I recommend a fourth, which is to ſtick your plate up to the rim incluſive, in the left ſide between your waiſtcoat and your ſhirt: this will keep it at leaſt as warm as under your arm-pit, or ockſter, as the Scots call it; this will hide it ſo, as ſtrangers may take you for a better ſervant, too good to hold a plate; this will ſecure it from falling, and thus diſpoſed, it lies ready for you to whip out in a moment ready warmed to any gueſt within your reach, who may want it. And laſtly, there is another convenience in this method, that if at any time during your waiting you find yourſelf going to cough or ſneeze, you can immediately ſnatch out the plate, and hold the hollow part cloſe to your noſe or mouth, and thus prevent ſpirting any

moiſture

moiſture from either upon the diſhes or the ladies dreſs; you ſee gentlemen and ladies obſerve a like practice on ſuch an occaſion, with a hat or a handkerchief; yet a plate is leſs fouled and ſooner cleaned than either of theſe; for, when your cough or ſneeze is over, it is but returning your plate to the ſame poſition, and your ſhirt will clean it in the paſſage.

Take off the largeſt diſhes, and ſet them on with one hand, to ſhew the ladies your vigour and ſtrength of back; but always do it between two ladies, that if the diſh happens to ſlip, the ſoup or ſauce may fall on their cloaths, and not daub the floor; by this practice, two of our brethren, my worthy friends, got conſiderable fortunes.

Learn all the new-faſhion words, and oaths, and ſongs, and ſcraps of plays that your memory can hold. Thus you will become the delight of nine ladies in ten, and the envy of ninety-nine beaux in a hundred.

Take care, that at certain periods, during dinner eſpecially, when perſons of quality are there, you and your brethren be all out of the room together; by which you will give yourſelves ſome eaſe from the fatigue of waiting, and at the ſame time leave the company to converſe more freely without being conſtrained by your preſence.

When you are ſent on a meſſage, deliver it in your own words, although it be to a duke or a ducheſs, and not in the words of your maſter or lady; for how can they underſtand what belongs to a meſſage as well as you, who have been bred

to the employment? But never deliver the anſwe till it is called for, and then adorn it with your own ſtyle.

When dinner is done, carry down a great heap of plates to the kitchen, and when you come to the head of the ſtairs, trundle them all before you; there is not a more agreeable ſight or ſound, eſpecially if they be ſilver, beſide the trouble they ſave you, and there they will lie ready near the kitchen door for the ſcullion to waſh them.

If you are bringing up a joint of meat in a diſh and it falls out of your hand, before you get into the dining room, with the meat on the ground and the ſauce ſpilled, take up the meat gently, wipe it with the flap of your coat, then put it again into the diſh, and ſerve it up; and when your lady miſſes the ſauce, tell her, it is to be ſent up in a plate by itſelf.

When you carry up a diſh of meat, dip your fingers in the ſauce, or lick it with your tongue to try whether it be good, and fit for your maſter's table.

You are the beſt judge of what acquaintance your lady ought to have, and therefore if ſhe ſends you on a meſſage of compliment or buſineſs to a family you do not like, deliver the anſwer in ſuch a manner, as may breed a quarrel between them not to be reconciled: or if a footman comes from the ſame family on the like errand, turn the anſwer ſhe orders you to deliver, in ſuch a manner, as the other family may take it for an affront.

When you are in lodgings, and no ſhoe-boy to be got, clean your maſter's ſhoes with the bottom of the curtains, a clean napkin, or your landlady's apron.

Ever wear your hat in the houſe, but when your maſter calls; and as ſoon as you come into his preſence, pull it off to ſhew your manners.

Never clean your ſhoes on the ſcraper, but in the entry, or at the foot of the ſtairs, by which you will have the credit of being at home almoſt a minute ſooner, and the ſcraper will laſt longer.

Never aſk leave to go abroad, for then it will be always known that you are abſent, and you will be thought an idle rambling fellow; whereas if you go out and nobody obſerves you, you have a chance of coming home without being miſſed, and you need not tell your fellow-ſervants where you are gone, for they will be ſure to ſay, you were in the houſe but two minutes ago, which is the duty of all ſervants.

Snuff the candles with your fingers, and throw the ſnuff on the floor, then tread it out to prevent ſtinking: this method will very much ſave the ſnuffers from wearing out. You ought alſo to ſnuff them cloſe to the tallow, which will make them run, and ſo encreaſe the perquiſite of the cook's kitchen-ſtuff; for ſhe is the perſon you ought in prudence to be well with.

While grace is ſaying after meat, do you and your brethren take the chairs from behind the company, ſo that when they go to ſit again, they may

may fall backwards, which will make them all merry; but be you ſo diſcreet as to hold your laughter till you get to the kitchen, and then divert your fellow-ſervants.

When you know your maſter is moſt buſy in company, come in and pretend to fettle about the room, and if he chides, ſay, you thought he rung the bell. This will divert him from plodding on buſineſs too much, or ſpending himſelf in talk, or racking his thoughts, all which are hurtful to his conſtitution.

If you are ordered to break the claw of a crab or a lobſter, clap it between the ſides of the dining room door between the hinges: thus you can do it gradually without maſhing the meat, which is often the fate of the ſtreet-door-key, or the peſtle.

When you take a foul plate from any of the gueſts, and obſerve the foul knife and fork lying on the plate, ſhew your dexterity, take up the plate, and throw of the knife and fork on the table without ſhaking off the bones or broken meat that are left: then the gueſt, who has more time than you, will wipe the fork and knife already uſed.

When you carry a glaſs of liquor to any perſon who has called for it, do not bob him on the ſhoulder, or cry, ſir, or madam, here's the glaſs; that would be unmannerly, as if you had a mind to force it down one's throat; but ſtand at the perſon's left ſhoulder and wait his time; and

and if he ſtrikes it down with his elbow by forgetneſs, that was his fault and not yours.

When your miſtreſs ſends you for a hackney coach in a wet day, come back in the coach to ſave your cloaths and the trouble of walking; it is better the bottom of her petticoats ſhould be daggled with your dirty ſhoes, than your livery be ſpoiled, and yourſelf get a cold.

There is no indignity ſo great to one of your ſtation as that of lighting your maſter in the ſtreets with a lanthorn; and therefore it is very honeſt policy to try all arts how to evade it: beſides, it ſhews your maſter to be either poor or covetous, which are the two worſt qualities you can meet with in any ſervice. When I was under theſe circumſtances, I made uſe of ſeveral wiſe expedients, which I here recommend to you: ſometimes I took a candle ſo long, that it reached to the very top of the lanthron and burned it: but my maſter after a good beating, ordered me to paſte it over with paper. I then uſed a middling candle, but ſtuck it ſo looſe in the ſocket, that it leaned towards one ſide and burned a whole quarter of the horn. Then I uſed a bit of candle of half an inch, which ſunk in the ſocket, and melted the ſolder, and forced my maſter to walk half the way in the dark. Then he made me ſtick two inches of candle in the place where the ſocket was; after which I pretended to ſtumble, put out the candle, and broke all the tin part to pieces: at laſt, he was forced to

make

make uſe of a lanthorn-boy out of perfect goo huſbandry.

It is much to be lamented, that gentlemen o our employment have but two hands to carr plates, diſhes, bottles, and the like out of th room at meals; and the misfortune is ſtill th greater, becauſe one of thoſe hands is required t open the door, while you are encumbered witl your load; therefore I adviſe, that the door ma be always left at jarr, ſo as to open it with you foot, and then you may carry out plates an diſhes from your belly up to your chin, beſid a good quantity of things under your arms which will ſave you many a weary ſtep; bu take care that none of the burden falls til you are out of the room, and if poſſible out o hearing.

If you are ſent to the poſt-office with a lette in a cold rainy night, ſtep to the alehouſe an take a pot, until it is ſuppoſed you have don your errand; but take the next fair opportunit to put the letter in carefully, as becomes an ho neſt ſervant.

If you are ordered to make coffee for the ladi after dinner, and the pot happens to boil ove while you are running up for a ſpoon to ſtir i or thinking of ſomething elſe, or ſtruggling wit the chamber-maid for a kiſs, wipe the ſides of th pot clean with a diſhclout, carry up your coffe boldly, and when your lady finds it too weal and examines you whether it has not run ove

den

deny the fact abſolutely, ſwear you put in more coffee than ordinary, that you never ſtirred an inch from it, that you ſtrove to make it better than uſual, becauſe your miſtreſs had ladies with her, that the ſervants in the kitchen will juſtify what you ſay; upon this, you will find that the other ladies will pronounce your coffee to be very good, and your miſtreſs will confeſs that her mouth is out of taſte, and ſhe will for the future ſuſpect herſelf, and be more cautious in finding fault. This I would have you do from a principle of conſcience, for coffee is very unwholeſome; and out of affection to your lady you ought to give it her as weak as poſſible: and upon this argument, when you have a mind to treat any of the maids with a diſh of freſh coffee, you may, and ought to ſubſtract a part of the powder on account of your lady's health, and getting her maids good-will.

If your maſter ſends you with a ſmall trifling preſent to one of his friends, be as careful of it as you would be of a diamond ring; therefore, if the preſent be only half a dozen pippins, ſend up the ſervant who received the meſſage to ſay, that you were ordered to deliver them with your own hands. This will ſhew your exactneſs and care to prevent accidents or miſtakes; and the gentleman or lady cannot do leſs than give you a ſhilling: ſo when your maſter receives the like preſent, teach the meſſenger who brings it to do the ſame, and give your maſter hints that may ſtir up his generoſity; for brother ſervants ſhould aſ-

ſiſt

ſiſt one another, ſince it is all for their maſter's honour, which is the chief point to be conſulted by every good ſervant, and of which he is the beſt judge.

When you ſtep but a few doors off to tattle with a wench, or take a running pot of ale, or to ſee a brother footman going to be hanged, leave the ſtreet door open, that you may not be forced to knock, and your maſter diſcover you are gone out; for a quarter of an hour's time can do his ſervice no injury.

When you take away the remaining pieces of bread after dinner, put them on foul plates and preſs them down with other plates over them, ſo as no body can touch them; and ſo they will be a good perquiſite to the black-guard boy in ordinary.

When you are forced to clean your maſter's ſhoes with your own hand, uſe the edge of the ſharpeſt caſe-knife, and dry them with the toes an inch from the fire, becauſe wet ſhoes are dangerous, and beſides, by theſe arts you will get them the ſooner for yourſelf.

In ſome families the maſter often ſends to the tavern for a bottle of wine, and you are the meſſenger; I adviſe you therefore, to take the ſmalleſt bottle you can find; but however, make the drawer give you a full quart, then you will get a good ſup for yourſelf, and your bottle will be filled. As for a cork to ſtop it, you need be at no trouble, for the thumb will do as well, or a bit of dirty chewed paper.

In

In all diſputes with chairmen and coachmen for demanding too much, when your maſter ſends you down to chaffer with them, take pity of the poor fellows, and tell your maſter that they will not take a farthing leſs: it is more for your intereſt to get ſhare of a pot of ale, than to ſave a ſhilling for your maſter, to whom it is a trifle.

When you attend your lady in a dark night, if ſhe uſes her coach, do not walk by the coach ſide, ſo as to tire and dirt yourſelf, but get up into your proper place behind it, and ſo hold the flambeau ſloping forward over the coach roof; and when it wants ſnuffing, daſh it againſt the corners.

When you leave your lady at church on Sundays, you have two hours ſafe to ſpend with your companions at the ale-houſe, or over a beef-ſtake and a pot of beer at home with the cook, and the maids; and indeed poor ſervants have ſo few opportunities to be happy, that they ought not to loſe any.

Never wear ſocks when you wait at meals, on account of your own health, as well as of them who ſit at table; becauſe as moſt ladies like the ſmell of young mens toes, ſo it is a ſovereign remedy againſt vapours.

Chooſe a ſervice, if you can, where your livery colours are leaſt tawdry and diſtinguiſhing: green and yellow immediately betray your office, and ſo do all kinds of lace, except ſilver, which will hardly fall to your ſhare, unleſs with a duke or ſome prodigal juſt come to his eſtate. The co-

lours you ought to wiſh for, are blue, or filemot turned up with red; which with a borrowed ſword, a borrowed air, your maſter's linen, and a natural and improved confidence, will give you what title you pleaſe, where you are not known.

When you carry diſhes or other things out of the room at meals, fill both your hands as full as poſſible; for although you may ſometimes ſpill, and ſometimes let fall, yet you will find, at the year's end, you have made great diſpatch, and ſaved abundance of time.

If your maſter or miſtreſs happen to walk the ſtreets, keep on one ſide, and as much on the level with them as you can, which people obſerving will either think you do not belong to them, or that you are one of their companions; but if either of them happen to turn back and ſpeak to you, ſo that you are under the neceſſity to take of your hat, uſe but your thumb and one finger, and ſcratch your head with the reſt.

In winter time light the dining-room fire but two minutes before dinner is ſerved up, that your maſter may ſee how ſaving you are of his coals.

When you are ordered to ſtir up the fire, clean away the aſhes from betwixt the bars with the fire-bruſh.

When you are ordered to call a coach, although it be midnight, go no farther than the door, for fear of being out of the way when you are wanted; and there ſtand bawling, Coach, Coach, for half an hour.

Although

Although you gentlemen in livery have the misfortune to be treated ſcurvily by all mankind, yet you make a ſhift to keep up your ſpirits, and ſometimes arrive at conſiderable fortunes. I was an intimate friend to one of our brethren, who was footman to a court lady: ſhe had an honourable employment, was ſiſter to an earl, and the widow of a man of quality. She obſerved ſomething ſo polite in my friend, the gracefulneſs with which he tript before her chair, and put his hair under his hat, that ſhe made him many advances; and one day taking the air in her coach with Tom behind it, the coachman miſtook the way, and ſtopt at a privileged chapel, where the couple were married, and Tom came home in the chariot by his lady's ſide: but he unfortunately taught her to drink brandy, of which ſhe died, after having pawned all her plate to purchaſe it, and Tom is now a journeyman maltſter.

Boucher, the famous gameſter, was another of our fraternity: and when he was worth 50,000*l.* he dunned the duke of Buckingham for an arrear of wages in his ſervice; and I could inſtance many more, particularly another, whoſe ſon had one of the chief employments at court; and it is ſufficient to give you the following advice, which is to be pert and ſaucy to all mankind, eſpecially to the chaplain, the waiting-woman, and the better ſort of ſervants in a perſon of quality's family, and value not now and then a kicking, or a caneing; for your inſolence will at laſt turn to good

account, and from wearing a livery, you may probably ſoon carry a pair of colours.

When you wait behind a chair at meals, keep conſtantly wriggling the back of the chair, that the perſon behind whom you ſtand may know you are ready to attend him.

When you carry a parcel of china plates, if they chance to fall, as it is a frequent misfortune, your excuſe muſt be, that a dog ran acroſs you in the hall; that the chamber-maid accidentally puſhed the door againſt you; that a mop ſtood acroſs the entry, and tript you up; that your ſleeve ſtuck againſt the key, or button of the lock.

When your maſter and lady are talking together in their bed-chamber, and you have ſome ſuſpicion that you or your fellow-ſervants are concerned in what they ſay, liſten at the door for the publick good of all the ſervants, and join all to take proper meaſures for preventing any innovations that may hurt the community.

Be not proud in proſperity: you have heard that fortune turns on a wheel; if you have a good place, you are at the top of the wheel. Remember how often you have been ſtripped, and kicked out of doors, your wages all taken up beforehand, and ſpent in tranſlated red-heeled ſhoes, ſecond-hand toupees, and repaired lace ruffles, beſide a ſwinging debt to the ale-wife and the brandy-ſhop. The neighbouring tapſter, who before would beckon you over to a ſavoury bit of ox-cheek in the morning, give it you gratis, and only ſcore you up for

for the liquor, immediately after you were packed off in diſgrace, carried a petition to your maſter to be paid out of your wages, whereof not a farthing was due, and then purſued you with bailiffs into every blind cellar. Remember how ſoon you grew ſhabby, thread-bare, and out-at-heels; was forced to borrow an old livery-coat, to make your appearance while you were looking for a place; and ſneak to every houſe where you have an old acquaintance to ſteal you a ſcrap to keep life and ſoul together; and upon the whole, were in the loweſt ſtation of human life, which, as the old ballad ſays, is that of a ſkip-kennel turned out of place; I ſay, remember all this now in your flouriſhing condition. Pay your contributions duly to your late brothers the cadets, who are left to the wide world: take one of them as your dependant to ſend on your lady's meſſages, when you have a mind to go to the ale-houſe: ſlip him out privately now and then a ſlice of bread, and a bit of cold meat; your maſter can afford it; and if he be not yet put upon eſtabliſhment for a lodging, let him lie in the ſtable, or the coach-houſe, or under the back-ſtairs, and recommend him to all the gentlemen who frequent your houſe as an excellent ſervant.

To grow old in the office of a footman, is the higheſt of all indignities: therefore when you find years coming on without hopes of a place at court, a command in the army, a ſucceſſion to the ſtewardſhip, an employment in the revenue, (which

two laſt you cannot obtain without reading and writing) or running away with your maſter's niece or daughter; I directly adviſe you to go upon the road, which is the only poſt of honour left you: there you will meet many of your old comrades, and live a ſhort life and a merry one, and make a figure at your exit, wherein I will give you ſome inſtructions.

The laſt advice I give you relates to your behaviour when you are going to be hanged; which either for robbing your maſter, for houſe-breaking, or going upon the highway, or in a drunken-quarrel by killing the firſt man you meet, may very probably be your lot, and is owing to one of theſe three qualities; either a love of good fellowſhip, a generoſity of mind, or too much vivacity of ſpirits. Your good behaviour on this article will concern your whole community: deny the fact with all ſolemnity of imprecations: a hundred of your brethren, if they can be admitted, will attend about the bar, and be ready upon demand to give you a character before the court: let nothing prevail on you to confeſs, but the promiſe of a pardon for diſcovering your comrades: but I ſuppoſe all this to be in vain; for if you eſcape now, your fate will be the ſame another day. Get a ſpeech to be written by the beſt author of Newgate: ſome of your kind wenches will provide you with a Holland ſhirt, and white cap, crowned with a crimſon or black ribbon: take leave chearfully of all your friends in Newgate: mount the cart with courage;

courage; fall on your knees; lift up your eyes; hold a book in your hands, although you cannot read a word; deny the fact at the gallows; kiſs and forgive the hangman, and ſo farewell: you ſhall be buried in pomp at the charge of the fraternity: the ſurgeon ſhall not touch a limb of you; and your fame ſhall continue until a ſucceſſor of equal renown ſucceds in your place.

CHAP. IV.

Directions to the COACHMAN.

YOU are ſtrictly bound to nothing, but to ſtep into the box, and carry your maſter or lady.

Let your horſes be ſo well trained, that when you attend your lady at a viſit, they will wait until you ſlip into a neighbouring ale-houſe to take a pot with a friend.

When you are in no humour to drive, tell your maſter that the horſes have got a cold, that they want ſhoeing, that rain does them hurt, and roughens their coat, and rots the harneſs. This may likewiſe be applied to the groom.

If your maſter dines with a country friend, drink as much as you can get; becauſe it is allowed, that a good coachman never drives ſo well as when he is drunk; and then ſhew your ſkill by driving

to an inch by a precipice; and ſay, you never drive ſo well as when drunk.

If you find any gentleman fond of one of your horſes, and willing to give you a conſideration beſide the price; perſuade your maſter to ſell him, becauſe he is ſo vicious that you cannot undertake to drive with him, and is foundered into the bargain.

Get a black-guard boy to watch your coach at the church-door on Sundays, that you and your brother coachmen may be merry together at the ale-houſe, while your maſter and lady are at church.

Take care that your wheels be good; and get a new ſet bought as often as you can, whether you are allowed the old as your perquiſite or not: in one caſe it will turn to your honeſt profit; and in the other, it will be a juſt puniſhment on your maſter's covetouſneſs; and probably, the coachmaker will conſider you too.

CHAP. V.

Directions to the GROOM.

YOU are the ſervant, upon whom the care of your maſter's honour in all journeys entirely depends; your breaſt is the ſole repoſitory of it. If he travels the country, and lodges at inns, every

dram of brandy, every pot of ale extraordinary that you drink, raiſes his character; and therefore his reputation ought to be dear to you; and I hope you will not ſtint yourſelf in either. The ſmith, the ſadler's journeyman, the cook at the inn, the oſtler, and the boot-catcher, ought all by your means to partake of your maſter's generoſity: thus his fame will reach from one country to another; and what is a gallon of ale, or a pint of brandy, in his worſhip's pocket? and although he ſhould be in the number of thoſe, who value their credit leſs than their purſe, yet your care of the former ought to be ſo much the greater. His horſe wanted two removes: your horſe wanted nails; his allowance of oats and beans was greater than the journey required; a third part may be retrenched, and turned into ale or brandy; and thus his honour may be preſerved by your diſcretion, and leſs expence to him; or, if he travels with no other ſervant, the matter is eaſily made up in the bill betwen you and the tapſter.

Therefore as ſoon as you alight at the inn, deliver your horſes to the ſtable-boy, and let him gallop them to the next pond; then call for a pot of ale, for it is very fit that a chriſtian ſhould drink before a beaſt. Leave your maſter to the care of the ſervants in the inn, and your horſes to thoſe in the ſtable: thus both he and they are left in the propereſt hands; but you are to provide for yourſelf; therefore get your ſupper, drink freely, and go to bed without troubling your maſter, who

is in better hands than yours. The oſtler is an honeſt fellow, and loves horſes in his heart; and would not wrong the dumb creatures for the world. Be tender of your maſter, and order the ſervants not to wake him too early. Get your breakfaſt before he is up, that he may not wait for you; make the oſtler tell him the roads are very good, and the miles ſhort; but adviſe him to ſtay a little longer till the weather clears up, for you are afraid there will be rain, and he will be time enough after dinner.

Let your maſter mount before you, out of good manners. As he is leaving the inn drop a good word in favour of the oſtler, what care he took of the cattle; and add, that you never ſaw civiller ſervants. Let your maſter ride on before, and do you ſtay until your landlord has given you a dram; then gallop after him through the town or village with full ſpeed, for fear he ſhould want you, and to ſhew your horſemanſhip.

If you are a piece of a farrier, as every good groom ought to be, get ſack, brandy, or ſtrong beer, to rub your horſes heels every night, and be not ſparing, for (if any be ſpent) what is left, you know how to diſpoſe of it.

Conſider your maſter's health, and rather than let him take long journeys, ſay the cattle are weak, and fallen in their fleſh with hard riding: tell him of a very good inn five miles nearer than he intended to go; or leave one of his horſe's foreſhoes looſe in the morning; or contrive that the

ſaddle

ſaddle may pinch the beaſt in his withers; or keep him without corn all night and morning, ſo that he may tire on the road; or wedge a thin plate of iron between the hoof and the ſhoe to make him halt; and all this in perfect tenderneſs to your maſter.

When you are going to be hired, and the gentleman aſks you, Whether you are apt to be drunk; own freely that you love a cup of good ale; but that it is your way, drunk or ſober, never to neglect your horſes.

When your maſter has a mind to ride out for the air, or for pleaſure, if any private buſineſs of your own makes it inconvenient for you to attend him; give him to underſtand, that the horſes want bleeding or purging; that his own pad has got a ſurfeit; or that the ſaddle wants ſtuffing and his bridle is gone to be mended: this you may honeſtly do, becauſe it will be no injury to the horſes or your maſter; and at the ſame time ſhews the great care you have of the poor dumb creatures.

If there be a particular inn in the town whither you are going, and where you are well-acquainted with the oſtler or tapſter, and the people of the houſe; find fault with the other inns, and recommend your maſter thither; it may probably be a pot and a dram or two more in your way, and to your maſter's honour,

If your maſter ſends you to buy hay, deal with thoſe who will be the moſt liberal to you; for,

ſervice

ſervice being no inheritance, you ought not to let ſlip any lawful and cuſtomary perquiſite. If your maſter buys it himſelf, he wrongs you, and to teach him his duty, be ſure to find fault with the hay as long as it laſts; and if the horſes thrive with it, the fault is yours.

Hay and oats, in the management of a ſkilful groom, will make excellent ale, as well as brandy; but this I only hint.

When your maſter dines, or lies at a gentleman's houſe in the country, although there be no groom, or he be gone abroad, or that the horſes have been quite neglected, be ſure employ ſome of the ſervants to hold the horſe when your maſter mounts. This I would have you do, when your maſter only alights to call in for a few minutes: for brother ſervants muſt always befriend one another, and that alſo concerns your maſter's honour; becauſe he cannot do leſs than give a piece of money to him who holds his horſe.

In long journeys, aſk your maſter leave to give ale to the horſes; carry two quarts full to the ſtable, pour half a pint into a bowl; and if they will not drink it, you and the oſtler muſt do the beſt you can; perhaps they may be in a better humour at the next inn; for I would have you never fail to make the experiment.

When you go to air your horſes in the park, or the fields, give them to a horſe-boy, or one of the black-guards, who being lighter than you, may be truſted to run races with leſs damage to the horſes,

horſes, and teach them to leap over hedges and ditches, while you are drinking a friendly pot with your brother grooms: but ſometimes you and they may run races yourſelves, for the honour of your horſes, and of your maſters.

Never ſtint your horſes at home in hay and oats, but fill the rack to the top, and the manger to the brim, for you would take it ill to be ſtinted yourſelf; although perhaps they may not have the ſtomach to eat; conſider, they have no tongues to aſk. If the hay be thrown down, there is no loſs, for it will make litter and ſave ſtraw.

When your maſter is leaving a gentleman's houſe in the country, where he has lain a night; then conſider his honour; let him know how many ſervants there are of both ſexes, who expect vails; and give them their cue to attend in two lines, as he leaves the houſe; but deſire him not to truſt the money with the butler, for fear he ſhould cheat the reſt; this will force your maſter to be more generous; and then you may take occaſion to tell your maſter, that 'ſquire ſuch a one, whom you lived with laſt, always gave ſo much apiece to the common ſervants, and ſo much to the houſekeeper, and the reſt, naming at leaſt double to what he intended to give; but be ſure to tell the ſervants what a good office you did them: this will gain you love, and your maſter honour.

You may venture to be drunk much oftener than the coachman, whatever he pretends to alledge in his own behalf, becauſe you hazard nobody's neck

but

but your own; for the horſe will probably take ſo much care of himſelf, as to come off with only a ſtrain or ſhoulder-ſlip.

When you carry your maſter's riding-coat in a journey, wrap your own in it, and buckle them up cloſe with a ſtrap, but turn your maſter's inſide out, to preſerve the outſide from wet and dirt; thus, when it begins to rain, your maſter's coat will be firſt ready to be given him; and if it get more hurt than yours, he can afford it better, for your livery muſt always ſerve its year's apprenticeſhip.

When you come to your inn with the horſes wet and dirty after hard riding, and are very hot, make the oſtler immediately plunge them into water up to their bellies, and allow them to drink as much as they pleaſe; but be ſure to gallop them full-ſpeed a mile at leaſt, to dry their ſkins and warm the water in their bellies. The oſtler underſtands his buſineſs, leave all to his diſcretion, while you get a pot of ale and ſome brandy at the kitchen fire to comfort your heart.

If your horſe drop a fore-ſhoe, be ſo careful as to alight and take it up: then ride with all ſpeed you can (the ſhoe in your hand that every traveller may obſerve your care) to the next ſmith on the road, make him put it on immediately, that your maſter may not wait for you, and that the poor horſe may be as ſhort a time as poſſible without a ſhoe.

When your maſter lies at a gentleman's houſe, if you find the hay and oats are good, complain aloud

aloud of their badneſs; this will get you the name of a diligent ſervant; and be ſure to cram the horſes with as much oats as they can eat, while you are there, and you may give them ſo much the leſs for ſome days at the inns, and turn the oats into ale. When you leave the gentleman's houſe, tell your maſter what a covetuous huncks that gentleman was, that you got nothing but butter-milk or water to drink; this will make your maſter out of pity allow you a pot of ale the more at the next inn: but if you happen to get drunk in a gentleman's houſe, your maſter cannot be angry, becauſe it coſt him nothing: and ſo you ought to tell him as well as you can in your preſent condition, and let him know it is both for his and the gentleman's honour to make a friend's ſervant welcome.

A maſter ought always to love his groom, to put him in a handſome livery, and to allow him a ſilver-laced hat. When you are in this equipage all the honours he receives on the road are owing to you alone: that he is not turned out of the way by every carrier, is cauſed by the civility he receives at ſecond-hand from the reſpect paid to your livery.

You may now and then lend your maſter's pad to a brother ſervant, or your favourite maid, for a ſhort jaunt, or hire him for a day, becauſe the horſe is ſpoiled for want of exerciſe: and if your maſter happens to want his horſe, or has a mind to ſee the ſtable, curſe that rogue the helper, who is gone out with the key.

When

When you want to ſpend an hour or two with your companions at the ale-houſe, and that you ſtand in need of a reaſonable excuſe for your ſtay, go out of the ſtable door, or the back way, with an old bridle, girth, or ſtirrup leather in your pocket; and on your return, come home by the ſtreet door with the ſame bridle, girth, or ſtirrup leather dangling in your hand, as if you came from the ſaddler's, where you were getting the ſame mended; if you were not miſſed, all is well; but if you are met by your maſter, you will have the reputation of a careful ſervant. This I have known practiſed with good ſucceſs.

CHAP. VI.

Directions to the HOUSE-STEWARD, and LAND-STEWARD.

LORD Peterborough's ſteward, that pulled down his houſe, ſold the materials, and charged my lord with repairs. Take money for forbearance from tenants. Renew leaſes, and get by them, and ſell woods. Lend my lord his own money. Gilblas ſaid much of this, to whom

CHAP. VII.

Directions to the PORTER.

IF your maſter be a miniſter of ſtate, let him be at home to none but his pimp, or chief flatterer, or one of his penſionary writers, or his hired ſpy, and informer, or his printer in ordinary, or his city ſolicitor, or a land-jobber, or his inventor of new funds, or a ſtock jobber.

CHAP. VIII.

Directions to the CHAMBER-MAID.

THE nature of your employment differs according to the quality, the pride, or the wealth of the lady you ſerve; and this treatiſe is to be applied to all ſorts of families: ſo that I find myſelf under great difficulty to adjuſt the beſt buſineſs, for which you are hired. In a family where there is a tolerable eſtate, you differ from the houſe-maid, and in that view I give my directions. Your particular province is your lady's chamber, where you make the bed, and put things in order; and if you live in the country, you take care of rooms, where ladies lie who come into the houſe, which brings in all the vails that fall

to your ſhare. Your uſual lover, as I take it, is the coachman; but, if you are under twenty, and tolerably handſome, perhaps a footman may caſt his eyes on you.

Get your favourite footman to help you in making your lady's bed; and if you ſerve a young couple, the footman and you, as you are turning up the bed-cloaths, will make the prettieſt obſervations in the world; which whiſpered about will be very entertaining to the whole family, and get among the neighbourhood.

Do not carry down the neceſſary veſſels for the fellows to ſee, but empty them out of the window, for your lady's credit. It is highly improper for men ſervants to know, that fine ladies have occaſion for ſuch utenſils; and do not ſcour the chamber-pot, becauſe the ſmell is wholeſome.

If you happen to break any china with the top of the whiſk on the mantle-tree or the cabinet, gather up the fragments, put them together as well as you can, and place them behind the reſt, ſo that when your lady comes to diſcover them, you may ſafely ſay they were broke long ago, before you came to the ſervice. This will ſave your lady many an hour's vexation.

It ſometimes happens, that a looking-glaſs is broken by the ſame means; while you are looking another way, as you ſweep the chamber, the long end of the bruſh ſtrikes againſt the glaſs, and breaks it to ſhivers. This is the extremeſt of all misfortunes, and all remedy deſperate in appear-

ance,

ance, becauſe it is impoſſible to be concealed. Such a fatal accident once happened in a great family, where I had the honour to be a footman; and I will relate the particulars to ſhew the ingenuity of the poor chamber-maid on ſo ſudden and dreadful an emergency, which perhaps may help to ſharpen your invention, if your evil ſtar ſhould ever give you the like occaſion: the poor girl had broken a large japan glaſs of great value with a ſtroke of her bruſh: ſhe had not conſidered long, when by a prodigious preſence of mind ſhe locked the door, ſtole into the yard, brought a ſtone of three pound weight into the chamber, laid it on the hearth juſt under the looking-glaſs, then broke a pane in the ſaſh-window that looked into the ſame yard, ſo ſhut the door, and went about her other affairs. Two hours after the lady goes into the chamber, ſees the glaſs broken, the ſtone lying under, and a whole pane in the window deſtroyed; from all which circumſtances ſhe concluded, juſt as the maid could have wiſhed, that ſome idle ſtraggler in the neighbourhood, or perhaps one of the out-ſervants, had through malice, accident, or careleſſneſs, flung in the ſtone and done the miſchief. Thus far all things went well, and the girl concluded herſelf out of danger: but it was her ill fortune, that a few hours after incame the parſon of the pariſh, and the lady naturally told him the accident, which you may believe had much diſcompoſed her; but the miniſter, who happened to underſtand mathematicks,

after examining the ſituation of the yard, the window, and the chimney, ſoon convinced the lady, that the ſtone could never reach the looking-glaſs without taking three turns in its flight from the hand that threw it; and the maid being proved to have ſwept the room the ſame morning, was ſtrictly examined, but conſtantly denied that ſhe was guilty upon her ſalvation, offering to take her oath upon the Bible before his reverence, that ſhe was as innocent as the child unborn; yet the poor wench was turned off, which I take to have been hard treatment, conſidering her ingenuity: however, this may be a direction to you in the like caſe to contrive a ſtory, that will better hang together. For inſtance, you might ſay, that while you were at work with a mop or bruſh, a flaſh of lightning came ſuddenly in at the window, which almoſt blinded you; that you immediately heard the ringing of broken glaſs on the hearth; that as ſoon as you recovered your eyes, you ſaw the looking-glaſs all broken to pieces: or you may alledge, that obſerving the glaſs a little covered with duſt, and going very gently to wipe it, you ſuppoſe the moiſture of the air had diſſolved the glue or cement, which made it fall to the ground: or as ſoon as the miſchief is done, you may cut the cords that faſtened the glaſs to the wainſcot, and ſo let it fall flat on the ground; run out in a fright, tell your lady, curſe the upholſterer; and declare how narrowly you eſcaped, that it did not fall upon your head. I offer theſe expedients from a deſire I have to defend

fend the innocent; for innocent you certainly muſt be, if you did not break the glaſs on purpoſe, which I would by no means excuſe, except upon great provocations.

Oil the tongs, poker, and fire-ſhovel, up to the top, not only to keep them from ruſting, but likewiſe to prevent meddling people from waſting your maſter's coals with ſtirring the fire.

When you are in haſte, ſweep the duſt into a corner of the room, but leave your bruſh upon it, that it may not be ſeen, for that would diſgrace you.

Never waſh your hands, or put on a clean apron, till you have made your lady's bed, for fear of rumpling your apron, or fouling your hands again.

When you bar the window-ſhuts of your lady's bed-chamber at nights, leave open the ſaſhes to let in the freſh air, and ſweeten the room againſt morning.

In the time when you leave the windows open for air, leave books, or ſomething elſe on the window-ſeat, that they may get air too.

When you ſweep your lady's room, never ſtay to pick up foul ſmocks, handkerchiefs, pinners, pincuſhions, tea-ſpoons, ribbands, ſlippers, or whatever lies in your way; but ſweep all into a corner, and then you may take them up in a lump, and ſave them.

Making beds in hot weather is a very laborious work, and you will be apt to ſweat; therefore,

when you find the drops running down from your forehead, wipe them off with a corner of the ſheet, that they may not be ſeen on the bed.

When your lady ſends you to waſh a china-cup, and it happen to fall, bring it up, and ſwear you did but juſt touch it with your hand, when it broke into three halves: and here I muſt inform you, as well as all your fellow-ſervants, that you ought never to be without an excuſe; it does no harm to your maſter, and it leſſens your fault: as in this inſtance, I do not commend you for breaking the cup; it is certain you did not break it on purpoſe; and the thing is poſſible, that it might break in your hand.

You are ſometimes deſirous to ſee a funeral, a quarrel, a man going to be hanged, a wedding, a bawd carted, or the like: as they paſs by in the ſtreet, you lift up the ſaſh ſuddenly, there by misfortune it ſticks: this was no fault of yours; young women are curious by nature; you have no remedy but to cut the cord, and lay the fault upon the carpenter, unleſs nobody ſaw you, and then you are as innocent as any ſervant in the houſe.

Wear you lady's ſmock when ſhe has thrown it off; it will do you credit, ſave your own linen, and be not a pin the worſe.

When you put a clean pillow-caſe on your lady's pillow, be ſure to faſten it well with the corkin pins, that it may not fall off in the night.

When

When you ſpread bread and butter for tea, be ſure that all the holes in the loaf be left full of butter, to keep the bread moiſt againſt dinner; and let the mark of your thumb be ſeen only upon one end of every ſlice to ſhew your cleanlineſs.

When you are ordered to open or lock any door, trunk, or cabinet, and miſs the proper key, or cannot diſtinguiſh it in the bunch; try the firſt key that you can thruſt in, and turn it with all your ſtrength, till you open the lock, or break the key; for your lady will reckon you a fool to come back and do nothing.

CHAP. IX.

Directions to the WAITING-MAID.

TWO accidents have happened to leſſen the comforts and profits of your employment; firſt, that execrable cuſtom got among ladies of trucking their old cloaths for china, or turning them to cover eaſy chairs, or making them into patchwork for ſcreens, ſtools, cuſhions, and the like. The ſecond is, the invention of ſmall cheſts and trunks with lock and key, wherein they keep the tea and ſugar, without which it is impoſſible for a waiting maid to live: for, by this means you are forced to buy brown ſugar, and pour water upon the leaves, when they have loſt all their ſpirit

and taſte. I cannot contrive any perfect remedy againſt either of theſe two evils. As to the former, I think there ſhould be a general confederacy of all the ſervants in every family, for the public good, to drive thoſe china huckſters from the doors; and as to the latter, there is no other method to relieve yourſelves, but by a falſe key, which is a point both difficult and dangerous to compaſs; but, as to the circumſtances of honeſty in procuring one, I am under no doubt, when your miſtreſs gives you ſo juſt a provocation by refuſing you an ancient and legal perquiſite. The miſtreſs of the tea-ſhop may now and then give you half an ounce; but that will be only a drop in the bucket: therefore I fear you muſt be forced, like the reſt of your ſiſters, to run in truſt, and pay for it out of your wages, as far as they will go, which you can eaſily make up other ways, if your lady be handſome, or her daughters have good fortunes.

If you are in a great family, and my lady's woman, my lord may probably like you, although you are not half ſo handſome as his own lady. In this caſe take care to get as much out of him as you can; and never allow him the ſmalleſt liberty, not the ſqueezing of your hand, unleſs he puts a guinea into it; ſo by degrees make him pay accordingly for every new attempt, doubling upon him in proportion to the conceſſions you allow, and always ſtruggling, and threatening to cry out, or tell your lady, although you receive his money

five

five guineas for handling your breaſt is a cheap pennyworth, although you ſeem to reſiſt with all your might; but never allow him the laſt favour under a hundred guineas, or a ſettlement of twenty pounds a year for life.

In ſuch a family, if you are handſome, you will have the choice of three lovers; the chaplain, the ſteward, and my lord's gentleman. I would firſt adviſe you to chuſe the ſteward; but if you happen to be young with child by my lord, you muſt take up with the chaplain. I like my lord's gentleman the leaſt of the three; for he is uſually vain and ſaucy from the time he throws off his livery; and if he miſſes a pair of colours, or a tide-waiter's place, he has no remedy but the highway.

I muſt caution you particularly againſt my lord's eldeſt ſon: if you are dextrous enough, it is odds that you may draw him in to marry you, and make you a lady; if he be a common rake (and he muſt be one or t'other) avoid him like Satan; for he ſtands leſs in awe of a mother, than my lord does of a wife; and after ten thouſand promiſes, you will get nothing from him, but a big belly or a clap, and probably both together.

When your lady is ill, and after a very bad night is getting a little nap in the morning, if a footman comes with a meſſage to enquire how ſhe does, do not let the compliment be loſt, but ſhake her gently until ſhe wakes; then deliver the meſſage, receive her anſwer, and leave her to ſleep.

If

If you are ſo happy as to wait on a young lady with a great fortune, you muſt be an ill manager if you cannot get five or ſix hundred pounds for diſpoſing of her. Put her often in mind, that ſhe is rich enough to make any man happy; that there is no real happineſs but in love; that ſhe has liberty to chooſe wherever ſhe pleaſes, and not by the directions of parents, who never give allowance for an innocent paſſion; that there are a world of handſome, fine, ſweet young gentlemen in town who would be glad to die at her feet; that the converſation of two lovers is a heaven upon earth that love, like death, equals all conditions; that if ſhe ſhould caſt her eyes upon a young fellow below her in birth and eſtate, his marrying her would make him a gentleman; that you ſaw yeſterday on the Mall the prettieſt enſign; and that if you had forty thouſand pounds it ſhould be at his ſervice. Take care that every body ſhould know what lady you live with; how great a favourite you are; and that ſhe always takes your advice. Go often to St. James's park; the fine fellows will ſoon diſcover you, and contrive to ſlip a letter into your ſleeve or your boſom: pull it out in a fury, and throw it on the ground, unleſs you find at leaſt two guineas along with it; but in that caſe, ſeem not to find it, and to think he was only playing the wag with you: when you come home, drop the letter careleſsly in your lady's chamber; ſhe finds it, is angry; proteſt you knew nothing of it, only you remember, that a gentleman in the

park ſtruggled to kiſs you, and you believe it was he that put the letter into your ſleeve or petticoat; and indeed he was as pretty a man as ever you ſaw: that ſhe may burn the letter if ſhe pleaſes. If your lady be wiſe, ſhe will burn ſome other paper before you, and read the letter when you are gone down. You muſt follow this practice as often as you ſafely can; but let him, who pays you beſt with every letter, be the handſomeſt man. If a footman preſumes to bring a letter to the houſe to be delivered to you for your lady, although it come from your beſt cuſtomer, throw it at his head; call him impudent rogue and villain, and ſhut the door in his face: run up to your lady, and as a proof of your fidelity, tell her what you have done.

I could enlarge very much upon this ſubject, but I truſt to your own diſcretion.

If you ſerve a lady, who is a little diſpoſed to gallantries, you will find it a point of great prudence how to manage: three things are neceſſary. Firſt, how to pleaſe your lady; ſecondly, how to prevent ſuſpicion in the huſband, or among the family; and laſtly, but principally, how to make it moſt for your own advantage. To give you full directions in this important affair would require a large volume. All aſſignations at home are dangerous both to your lady and yourſelf; and therefore contrive, as much as poſſible, to have them in a third place; eſpecially if your lady, as it is a hundred odds, entertains more lovers than one,

each

each of whom is often more jealous than a thouſand huſbands; and very unlucky rencounters may often happen under the beſt management. I need not warn you to employ your good offices chiefly in favour of thoſe, whom you find moſt liberal; yet, if your lady ſhould happen to caſt an eye upon a handſome footman, you ſhould be generous enough to bear with her humour, which is no ſingularity, but a very natural appetite: it is ſtill the ſafeſt of all home intrigues, and was formerly the leaſt ſuſpected, until of late years it has grown more common. The great danger is, leſt this kind of gentry, dealing too often in bad ware, may happen not to be ſound; and then your lady and you are in a very bad way, although not altogether deſperate.

But to ſay the truth, I confeſs it is a great preſumption in me to offer you any inſtructions in the conduct of your lady's amours, wherein your whole ſiſterhood is already ſo expert, and deeply learned; although it be much more difficult to compaſs, than that aſſiſtance which my brother footmen give their maſters on the like occaſion; and therefore I leave this affair to be treated by ſome abler pen.

When you lock up a ſilk mantua, or laced head, in a trunk or cheſt, leave a piece out, that when you open the trunk again, you may know where to find it.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Directions to the HOUSE-MAID.

? your maſter and lady go into the country for a week or more, never waſh the bed chamber dining-room until juſt the hour before you ex- t them to return: thus the rooms will be per- tly clean to receive them, and you will not be at : trouble to waſh them ſo ſoon again.

I am very much offended with thoſe ladies who ſo proud and lazy, that they will not be at the ns of ſtepping into the garden to pluck a roſe, : keep an odious implement, ſometimes in the l-chamber itſelf, or at leaſt in a dark cloſet ad- ining, which they make uſe of to eaſe their rſt neceſſities; and you are the uſual carriers ay of the pan; which makes not only the mber, but even their cloaths, offenſive to all o come near. Now to cure them of this odious ctice, let me adviſe you, on whom the office , to convey away this utenſil, that you will do penly, down the great ſtairs, and in the pre- ce of the footmen; and if any body knocks, to en the ſtreet-door, while you have the veſſel ed in your hands; this, if any thing can, will ke your lady take the pains of evacuating her rſon in the proper place, rather than expoſe her hineſs to all the men ſervants in the houſe.

Leave

Leave a pail of dirty water with the mop in it, a coal-box, a bottle, a broom, a chamber-pot, and ſuch other unſightly things, either in a blind entry, or upon the darkeſt part of the back-ſtairs, that they may not be ſeen; and if people break their ſhins by trampling on them, it is their own fault.

Never empty the chamber-pots until they are quite full: if that happens in the night, empty them into the ſtreet; if in the morning, into the garden; for it would be an endleſs work to go a dozen times from the garret and upper rooms down to the backſide; but never waſh them in any other liquor except their own: what cleanly girl would be dabbling in other folks urine? and beſides, the ſmell of ſtale, as I obſerved before, is admirable againſt the vapours; which, a hundred to one, may be your lady's caſe.

Bruſh down the cobwebs with a broom that is wet and dirty, which will make them ſtick the faſter to it, and bring them down more effectually.

When you rid up the parlour-hearth in a morning, throw the laſt night's aſhes into a ſieve; and what falls through, as you carry it down, will ſerve inſtead of ſand for the rooms and the ſtairs.

When you have ſcoured the braſſes and irons in the parlour chimney, lay the foul wet clout upon the next chair, that your lady may ſee you have not neglected your work: obſerve the ſame rule, when you clean the braſs locks, only with this addition, to leave the marks of your fingers on the doors, to ſhew you have not forgot.

Leave

Leave your lady's chamber-pot in her bed-chamber window all day to air.

Bring up none but large coals to the dining-room and your lady's chamber; they make the beſt fires, and if you find them too big, it is eaſy to break them on the marble hearth.

When you go to bed, be ſure take care of fire; and therefore blow the candle out with your breath, and then thruſt it under your bed. Note, the ſmell of the ſnuff is very good againſt vapours.

Perſuade the footman, who got you with child, to marry you before you are ſix months gone; and if your lady aſks you, why you would take a fellow who was not worth a groat? let your anſwer be, That ſervice is no inheritance.

When your lady's bed is made, put the chamber-pot under it; but in ſuch a manner, as to thruſt the vallens along with it, that it may be full in ſight, and ready for your lady when ſhe has occaſion to uſe it.

Lock up a cat or a dog in ſome room or cloſet, ſo as to make ſuch a noiſe all over the houſe, as may frighten away the thieves, if any ſhould attempt to break or ſteal in.

When you waſh any of the rooms toward the ſtreet over night, throw the foul water out of the ſtreet-door; but be ſure not to look before you, for fear thoſe on whom the water lights might think you uncivil, and that you did it on purpoſe. If he who ſuffers, breaks the windows in revenge, and your lady chides you, and gives

poſitive

poſitive orders that you ſhould carry the pail down, and empty it in the ſink, you have an eaſy remedy: when you waſh an upper room, carry down the pail ſo as to let the water dribble on the ſtairs all the way down to the kitchen; by which not only your load will be lighter, but you will convince your lady, that it is better to throw the water out of the windows, or down the ſtreet-door ſteps beſides, this latter practice will be very diverting to you and the family in a froſty night, to ſee a hundred people on their noſes or backſides before your door, when the water is frozen.

Poliſh and brighten the marble-hearths and chimney-pieces with a clout dipt in greaſe; nothing makes them ſhine ſo well; and it is the buſineſs of the ladies to take care of their petticoats.

If your lady be ſo nice that ſhe will have the room ſcoured with freeſtone be ſure to leave the marks of the freeſtone, ſix inches deep round the bottom of the wainſcot, that your lady may ſee your obedience to her orders.

CHAP. XI.

Directions to the DAIRY-MAID.

FATIGUE of making butter: put ſcalding water in your churn, although in ſummer, and churn cloſe to the kitchen fire, and with cream of a week old. Keep cream for your ſweetheart.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Directions to the CHILDRENS-MAID.

IF a child be ſick, give it whatever it wants to eat or drink, although particularly forbid by the doctor: for what we long for in ſickneſs will do us good; and throw the phyſick out of the window: the child will love you the better; but bid it not tell. Do the ſame for your lady when ſhe longs for any thing in ſickneſs, and engage it will do her good.

If your miſtreſs comes to the nurſery, and offers to whip a child, ſnatch it out of her hands in rage, and tell her ſhe is the cruelſt mother you ever ſaw: ſhe will chide, but love you the better. Tell the children ſtories of ſpirits, when they offer to cry, &c.

Be ſure to wean the children, &c.

CHAP. XIII.

Directions to the NURSE.

IF you happen to let the child fall, and lame it, be ſure never confeſs it; and if it dies, all is ſafe.

Contrive to be with child as ſoon as you can, while you are giving ſuck, that you may be ready for another ſervice, when the child you nurſe dies, or is weaned.

CHAP. XIV.

Directions to the LAUNDRESS.

IF you ſinge the linen with the iron, rub the place with flour, chalk, or wite powder; and if nothing will do, waſh it ſo long till it be either not to be ſeen, or torn to rags.

About tearing linen in waſhing.

When your linen is pinned on the line, or on a hedge, and it rains, whip it off, although you tear it, &c. But the place for hanging them is on young fruit trees, eſpecially in bloſſom; the linen cannot be torn, and the trees give them a fine ſmell.

CHAP. XV.

Directions to the HOUSE-KEEPER.

YOU muſt always have a favourite footman whom you can depend upon; and order him to be very watchful when the ſecond courſe is taken off, that it be brought ſafely to your office that you and the ſteward may have a tit-bit together.

CHAP

CHAP. XVI.

Directions to the TUTORESS, or GOVERNESS.

SAY the children have ſore eyes; miſs Betty won't take to her book, &c.

Make the miſſes read French and Engliſh novels, and French romances, all the comedies writ in king Charles II. and king William's reigns, to ſoften their nature, and make them tender-hearted, &c.

To the preceding Directions to Servants the following may be added, as they were both written with the ſame deſign, though in a very different manner. It will eaſily be perceived, that theſe are to be underſtood literally, and the others ironically.

The duty of SERVANTS at inns.

BE mounted before your maſter. When you ſee him mounted, ride out before him. When he baits at noon, enter the inn gate before him, and call the oſtler to hold your maſter's horſe while he alights. Leave your maſter to the ſervants of the inn; go you with the horſes into the ſtable; chooſe a place fartheſt from the ſtable-door; ſee

the ſtanding be dry; ſend immediately for freſh ſtraw; ſee all the old hay out of the rack, and get freſh put in; ſee your horſes girths be looſed and ſtuffed; take not off the bridles till they are cool, nor ſaddles in an hour; ſee their hoofs be well-picked; try if the heads of the nails be faſt, and whether they be well clinched; if not, ſend preſently for a ſmith; always ſtand by while the ſmith is employed. Give the oats the laſt thing. Water your horſes when you are within a mile of the inn. Never keep above forty yards before or behind your maſter, unleſs he commands you. Try the oats by ſmelling and weighing them; ſee you have good meaſure; ſtand by while your horſes are eating their oats. When you enter your evening-inn, let your horſes feet be ſtuffed with cow-dung every night.

Obſerve the ſame rules, only be ſure if any thing be wanting for a ſmith, let it be done over night.

Know the time your maſter will ſet out in the morning: allow him a full hour to get himſelf ready. Contrive both at morn and noon to eat, ſo that your maſter need not ſtay for you. Do not let the drawer carry the bill to your maſter, but examine it firſt carefully and honeſtly, and then bring it yourſelf, and be able to account for every article. If the ſervants have not been civil, tell your maſter before their faces, when he is going to give them money.

Duty of the other SERVANT, where there are two.

Ride forty yards behind your maſter; but be mounted before him. Obſerve now and then whether his horſe's ſhoes be right. When you come to an inn at noon, give your horſe to the oſtler; beſtir yourſelf to get a convenient room for your maſter; bring all his things into his room, full in his ſight; enquire what is in the houſe, ſee it yourſelf, and tell your maſter how you like it. Step yourſelf now and then into the kitchen to haſten dinner or ſupper, and obſerve whether they be cleanly. Taſte the ale, and tell your maſter whether it be good or bad. If he want wine, go you with the drawer, and chooſe a bottle well filled and ſtopped: if the wine be in hogſheads, deſire to taſte and ſmell it; if it be ſour or not clear, or ill-taſted, let your maſter know it, that he may not be at the charge of wine not fit to be drunk. See the ſalt be dry and powdered, the bread new and clean, the knives ſharp. At night obſerve the ſame rules: but firſt chooſe him a warm room, with a lock and key in order; then call immediately for the ſheets, ſee them well aired and at a large fire; feel the blankets, bed, bolſter, pillow, whether they be dry, and whether the floor under the bed be damp. Let the chamber be that, which has been laſt lain in; enquire

about it. If the bed itſelf be damp, let it be brought before a large fire, and air it on both ſides. That you may forget nothing in the inn, have a fair liſt of what you want to take out; and when you put them up, compare them with your liſt.

You are to ſtep now and then into the ſtable, to ſee whether the groom performs his duty.

For packing up your things, have a liſt of linen, &c. In packing take care that no two hard things be together, and that they be wrapped up in a paper, and other waſte paper. Remember to put every thing in their proper places in the portmanteau. Stuff the ſhoes and ſlippers at the toes with a ſmall lock of hay; fold up the cloaths ſo as that they may not be rumpled. When your maſter is in his room at night, put all his things in ſuch a manner as he has them at home. Learn to have ſome ſkill in cookery, that at a pinch you may be able to make your maſter eaſy.

The groom. Carry with you a ſtirrup-leather, an awl, twelve horſe nails, and a horſe's foreſhoes, pick, and a hammer, for fear of an accident; and ſome ends, and pack-thread, a bottle-ſcrew, knife and pen-knife, needles, pins, thread, ſilk, worſted, &c. Some plaiſters and ſciſſars.

Item. The ſervants to carry their own things. Have a pocket-book, keep all the bills, date the time and place; and endorſe the numbers.

Enquire in every town, if there be any thing worth ſeeing. Obſerve the country-ſeats, and aſk whom they belong to; and enter them, and the counties where they are.

Search

Search under your maſter's bed when he is gone up, leſt a cat or ſomething elſe may be under it.

When your maſter's bed is made, and his things ready, lock the chamber-door, and keep the key till he goes to bed; then keep it in your pocket till morn.

Let the ſervants of the inn be ſure to wake you above an hour before your maſter is to go, that he may have an hour to prepare himſelf.

If the oſtler has been knaviſh or negligent, do not let him hold your maſter's horſe. Obſerve the ſame rule at a gentleman's houſe; if the groom has not taken care of your horſes, do not let him hold your maſter's.

Enquire at every inn where you ſtay, what is the beſt inn in the next town you are to come to; yet do not rely on that, but likewiſe as you enter into any town to ſtay, aſk the people which is the beſt inn, and go to that which moſt people commend.

See that your maſter's boots be dried and well liquored over night.

REMARKS

UPON

A BOOK,

INTITULED,

The Rights of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH, &c.

Written in the Year 1708, but left unfiniſhed.

REMARKS, &c.*

BEFORE I enter upon a particular examination of this treatiſe, it will be convenient to two things:

Firſt, To give ſome account of the author, together with the motives that might probably engage him in ſuch a work. And,

Secondly, To diſcover the nature and tendency general, of the work itſelf.

The firſt of theſe, although it has been objected ainſt, ſeems highly reaſonable, eſpecially in oks that inſtil pernicious principles. For, alough a book is not intrinſically much better or rſe, according to the ſtature or complexion of author, yet when it happens to make a noiſe, are apt, and curious, as in other noiſes, to about from whence it comes. But however, : is ſomething more in the matter.

a theological ſubject be well handled by a an, it is better received than if it came from ine: and that for reaſons obvious enough, , although of little weight in themſelves, er have a great deal with mankind.

* Remarks, though left unfiniſhed by the Dean, and but proluſions of his ſtrength, ſhew how ſincere, how able a he was of Religion and the Church.

But,

But, when books are written with ill intentions, to advance dangerous opinions, or deſtroy foundations; it may be then of real uſe to know from what quarter they come, and go a good way toward their confutation. For inſtance, if any man ſhould write a book againſt the lawfulneſs of puniſhing felony with death; and upon enquiry, the author ſhould be found in Newgate, under condemnation for robbing a houſe; his arguments would, not very unjuſtly, loſe much of their force, from the circumſtances he lay under. So, when Milton writ his book of divorces, it was preſently rejected as an occaſional treatiſe; becauſe every body knew, he had a ſhrew for his wife. Neither can there be any reaſon imagined, why he might not, after he was blind, have writ another upon the danger and inconvenience of eyes. But it is a piece of logick which will hardly paſs on the world, that becauſe one man has a ſore noſe, therefore all the town ſhould put plaſters upon theirs. So, if this treatiſe about the rights of the church ſhould prove to be the work of a man ſteady in his principles, of exact morals, and profound learning, a true lover of his country, and a hater of Chriſtianity, as what he really believes to be a cheat upon mankind, whom he would undeceive purely for their good; it might be apt to check unwary men, even of good diſpoſitions towards religion. But, if it be found the production of a man ſoured with age and misfortunes,

together with the conſciouſneſs of paſt miſcarriages; of one, who, in hopes of preferment, was reconciled to the Popiſh religion; of one, wholly proſtitute in life and principles, and only an enemy to religion, becauſe it condemns them: In this caſe, and this laſt I find is the univerſal opinion, he is likely to have few proſelytes, beſide thoſe, who, from a ſenſe of their vicious lives, require to be perpetually ſupplied by ſuch amuſements as this; which ſerve to flatter their wiſhes, and debaſe their underſtandings.

I know there are ſome who would fain have it, that this diſcourſe was written by a club of free-thinkers, among whom the ſuppoſed author only came in for a ſhare. But, ſure, we cannot judge ſo meanly of any party, without affronting the dignity of mankind. If this be ſo, and if here be the product of all their quotas and contributions, we muſt needs allow, that free-thinking is a moſt confined and limited talent. It is true indeed, the whole diſcourſe ſeems to be a motly, inconſiſtent compoſition, made up of various ſhreds of equal fineneſs, although of different colours. It is a bundle of incoherent maxims and aſſertions, that frequently deſtroy one another. But ſtill there is the ſame flatneſs of thought and ſtile; the ſame weak advances towards wit and raillery; the ſame petulancy and pertneſs of ſpirit; the ſame train of ſuperficial reading; the ſame thread-bare quotation; the ſame affectation of forming general

rules upon falſe and ſcanty premiſes. And laſtly, the ſame rapid venom ſprinkled over the whole; which, like the dying impotent bite of a trodden benumbed ſnake, may be nauſeous and offenſive, but cannot be very dangerous.

And indeed, I am ſo far from thinking this libel to be born of ſeveral fathers, that it has been the wonder of ſeveral others, as well as myſelf, how it was poſſible for any man, who appears to have gone the common circle of academical education; who has taken ſo univerſal a liberty, and has ſo entirely laid aſide all regards, not only of Chriſtianity, but common truth and juſtice; one who is dead to all ſenſe of ſhame, and ſeems to be paſt the getting or loſing of a reputation, ſhould, with ſo many advantages, and upon ſo unlimited a ſubject, come out with ſo poor, ſo jejune a production. Should we pity, or be amazed at ſo perverſe a talent, which, inſtead of qualifying an author to give a new turn to old matter, diſpoſes him quite* contrary to talk in an old beaten trivial manner upon topics wholly new? to make ſo many ſallies into pedantry without a call, upon a ſubject the moſt alien, and in the very moments he is declaiming againſt it, and in an age too, where it is ſo violently exploded, eſpecially among thoſe readers he propoſes to entertain?

I know it will be ſaid, that this is only to talk in the common ſtyle of an anſwerer; but I have

* This is not grammar—it ſhould be the adverb inſtead of the adjective "quite *contrariwiſe*."

no

t ſo little policy. If there were any hope of re-
ıtation or merit from ſuch victory, I ſhould be
t, like others, to cry up the courage and conduct
an enemy. Whereas to detect the weakneſs,
e malice, the ſophiſtry, the falſhood, the ignor-
ce of ſuch a writer, requires little more than to
nk his perfections in ſuch an order, and place
em in ſuch a light, that the commoneſt reader
ay form a judgement of them.

It may ſtill be a wonder how ſo heavy a book,
ritten upon a ſubject in appearance ſo little in-
ructive or diverting, ſhould ſurvive to three edi-
ons, and conſequently find a better reception
han is uſual with ſuch bulky ſpiritleſs volumes;
nd this, in an age that pretends ſo ſoon to be
auſeated with what is tedious and dull. To
hich I can only return, that, as burning a
ook by the common hangman, is a known ex-
edient to make it ſell; ſo, to write a book that
eſerves ſuch treament, is another: And a third,
erhaps as effectual as either, is to ply an in-
pid, worthleſs tract, with grave and learned an-
wers, as Dr. Hickes, Dr. Potter, and Mr. Wot-
n have done. Such performances, however com-
endable, have glanced a reputation upon the
iece; which owes its life to the ſtrength of thoſe
ands and weapons that were raiſed to deſtroy it;
ke flinging a mountain upon a worm, which in-
ead of being bruiſed, by the advantage of its lit-
leneſs, lodges under it unhurt.

But

But neither is this all. For the ſubject, as un promiſing as it ſeems at firſt view, is no leſs tha that of Lucretius, to free men's minds from th bondage of religion; and this, not by little hint and by piece-meal, after the manner of thoſe littl atheiſtical tracts that ſteal into the world, but in thorough wholeſale manner; by making religion church, Chriſtianity, with all their concomitants a perfect contrivance of the civil power. It is an imputation often charged on this ſort of men, that, by their invectives againſt religion, they can poſſibly propoſe no other end than that of fortifying themſelves and others againſt the reproaches of a vicious life; it being neceſſary for men of libertine practices, to embrace libertine principles, or elſe they cannot act in conſiſtence with any reaſon, or preſerve any peace of mind. Whether ſuch authors have this deſign (whereof I think they have never gone about to acquit themſelves) thus much is certain; that no other uſe is made of ſuch writings; Neither did I ever hear this author's book juſtified by any perſon, either Whig or Tory, except ſuch who are of that profligate character. And I believe, whoever examines it, will be of the ſame opinion; although indeed ſuch wretches are ſo numerous, that it ſeems rather ſurpriſing, why the book has had no more editions, than why it ſhould have ſo many.

Having thus endeavoured to ſatisfy the curious with ſome account of this author's character, let us examine what might probably be the motives

to engage him in ſuch a work. I ſhall ſay nothing of the principal, which is a ſum of money; becauſe that is not a mark to diſtinguiſh him from any other trader with the preſs. I will ſay nothing of revenge and malice, from reſentment of the indignities and contempt he has undergone for his crime of apoſtacy. To this paſſion he has thought fit to ſacrifice order, propriety, diſcretion, and common ſenſe, as may be ſeen in every page of his book: but I am deceived, if there were not a third motive as powerful as the other two; and that is, vanity. About the latter end of king James's reign, he had almoſt finiſhed a learned diſcourſe in defence of the church of Rome, and to juſtify his converſion: all which, upon the Revolution, was quite out of ſeaſon. Having thus proſtituted his reputation, and at once ruined his hopes, he had no courſe left, but to ſhew his ſpite againſt religion in general; the falſe pretenſions to which had proved ſo deſtructive to his credit and fortune: and at the ſame time, loth to employ the ſpeculations of ſo many years to no purpoſe; by an eaſy turn, the ſame arguments he had made uſe of to advance popery, were full as properly leveled by him againſt Chriſtianity itſelf; like the image, which, while it was new and handſome, was worſhiped for a ſaint; and when it came to be old and broken, was ſtill good enough to make a tolerable devil. And therefore, every reader will obſerve, that the arguments for popery are much the ſtrongeſt of any in his book,

as I ſhall farther remark when I find them in my way.

There is one circumſtance in his title-page, which I take to be not amiſs, where he calls his book, Part the Firſt. This is a project to fright away anſwerers, and make the poor advocates for religion believe, he ſtill keeps farther vengeance in petto. It muſt be allowed, he has not wholly loſt time while he was of the Romiſh Communion. This very trick he learned from his old father, the pope; whoſe cuſtom it is to lift up his hand, and threaten to fulminate, when he never meant to ſhoot his bolts; becauſe the princes of Chriſtendom had learned the ſecret to avoid or deſpiſe them. Dr. Hickes knew this very well, and therefore, in his anſwer to this Book of Rights, where a ſecond Part is threatened, like a raſh perſon he deſperately cries, Let it come. But I, who have too much phlegm to provoke angry wits of his ſtandard, muſt tell the author, that the doctor plays the wag, as if he were ſure it were all grimace. For my part, I declare, if he writes a ſecond part, I will not write another anſwer; or, if I do, it ſhall be publiſhed before the other part comes out.

There may have been another motive, although it be hardly credible, both for publiſhing this work, and threatening a ſecond part: it is ſoon conceived how far the ſenſe of a man's vanity will tranſport him. This man muſt have ſomewhere heard, that dangerous enemies have been often bribed to

ſilence with money or preferment: And therefore to ſhew how formidable he is, he has publiſhed his firſt eſſay; and in hopes of hire to be quiet, has frighted us with his deſign of another. What muſt the clergy do in theſe unhappy circumſtances? If they ſhould beſtow this man bread enough to ſtop his mouth, it will but open thoſe of a hundred more, who are every whit as well qualified to rail as he. And truly, when I compare the former enemies to Chriſtianity, ſuch as Socinus, Hobbes, and Spinoſa, with ſuch of their ſucceſſors, as Toland, Aſgil, Coward, Gildon, this author of the Rights, and ſome others; the church appears to me like the ſick old lion in the fable; who, after having his perſon outraged by the bull, the elephant, the horſe, and the bear, took nothing ſo much to heart as to find himſelf at laſt inſulted by the ſpurn of an aſs.

I will now add a few words, to give the reader ſome general notion of the nature and tendency of the work itſelf.

I think I may aſſert, without the leaſt partiality, that it is a treatiſe wholly devoid of wit or learning, under the moſt violent and weak endeavours and pretences to both. That it is repleniſhed throughout with bold, rude, improbable falſhoods, and groſs miſinterpretations; and ſupported by the moſt impudent ſophiſtry, and falſe logic, I have any where obſerved. To this he has added a paultry, traditional cant of prieſt-rid and prieſt-craft, without reaſon or pretext as he applies it.

And when he rails at thoſe doctrines in popery (which no proteſtant was ever ſuppoſed to believe) he leads the reader, however, by the hand, to make applications againſt the Engliſh clergy; and then he never fails to triumph, as if he had made a very ſhrewd and notable ſtroke. And becauſe the court and kingdom ſeems diſpoſed to moderation with regard to diſſenters, more perhaps than is agreeable to the hot unreaſonable temper of ſome miſtaken men among us; therefore, under the ſhelter of that popular opinion, he ridicules all that is found in religion, even Chriſtianity itſelf, under the names of Jacobite, Tackers, High-Church, and other terms of factious jargon. All which, if it were to be firſt raſed from his book (as juſt ſo much of nothing to the purpoſe) how little would remain to give the trouble of an anſwer! To which let me add, that the ſpirit, or genius, which animates the whole, is plainly perceived to be nothing elſe but the abortive malice of an old neglected man, who has long lain under the extremes of obloquy, poverty, and contempt, that have ſoured his temper, and made him fearleſs. But where is the merit of being bold, to a man that is ſecure of impunity to his perſon, and is paſt apprehenſion of any thing elſe? He that has neither reputation nor bread, has very little to loſe, and has therefore as little to fear. And as it is uſually ſaid, "Whoever values not his own "life, is maſter of another man's"; ſo there is ſomething like it in reputation: He that is wholly loſt

loſt to all regards of truth or modeſty, may ſcatter ſo much calumny and ſcandal, that ſome part may perhaps be taken up before it fall to the ground; becauſe the ill talent of the world is ſuch, that thoſe who will be at pains enough to inform themſelves in a malicious ſtory, will take none at all to be undeceived, nay, will be apt with ſome reluctance to admit a favourable truth.

To expoſtulate, therefore, with this author for doing miſchief to religion, is to ſtrew his bed with roſes; he will reply in triumph, that this was his deſign; and I am loth to mortify him, by aſſerting he has done none at all. For I never yet ſaw ſo poor an atheiſtical ſcribble, which would not ſerve as a twig for ſinking libertines to catch at. It muſt be allowed in their behalf, that the faith of Chriſtians is not as a grain of muſtard-ſeed in compariſon of theirs, which can remove ſuch mountains of abſurdities, and ſubmit with ſo entire a reſignation to ſuch apoſtles. If theſe men had any ſhare of that reaſon they pretend to, they would retire into Chriſtianity, merely to give it eaſe. And therefore men can never be confirmed in ſuch doctrines, until they are confirmed in their vices; which laſt, as we have already obſerved, is the principal deſign of this, and all other writers, againſt revealed religion.

I am now opening the book which I propoſe to examine; an employment, as it is entirely new to me, ſo it is that to which, of all others, I have naturally the greateſt antipathy. And indeed, who

can dwell upon a tedious piece of inſipid thinking, and falſe reaſoning, ſo long as I am likely to do, without ſharing the infection?

But, before I plunge into the depths of the book itſelf, I muſt be forced to wade through the ſhallows of a long preface.

This preface, large as we ſee it, is only made up of ſuch ſupernumerary arguments againſt an independent power in the church, as he could not, without nauſeous repetition, ſcatter into the body of his book: and it is detached, like a forlorn hope, to blunt the enemy's ſword that intends to attack him. Now, I think, it will be eaſy to prove, that the opinion of *imperium in imperio*, in the ſenſe he charges it upon the clergy of England, is what no one divine of any reputation, and very few at all, did ever maintain; and that their univerſal ſentiment in this matter is ſuch, as few proteſtants did ever diſpute. But, if the author of the Regale, or two or three more obſcure writers, have carried any points farther than ſcripture and reaſon will allow (which is more than I know, or ſhall trouble myſelf to enquire) the clergy of England is no more anſwerable for thoſe, than the laity is for all the folly and impertinence of this treatiſe. And therefore, that people may not be amuſed, or think this man is ſomewhat, that he has advanced or defended any oppreſſed truth, or overthrown any growing dangerous errors, I will ſet in as clear a light as I can, what I conceive to be held by the eſtabliſhed clergy, and all reaſonable proteſtants in this matter.

Every

Every body knows and allows, that in all go-rnment there is an abſolute, unlimited, legiſla-e power; which is originally in the body of the ople, although, by cuſtom, conqueſt, uſurpa-n, or other accidents, ſometimes fallen into the nds of one or a few. This in England is placed the three eſtates (otherwiſe called the two houſes parliament) in conjunction with the king. And hatever they pleaſe to enact or to repeal in the ttled forms, whether it be eccleſiaſtical or civil, mediately becomes law, or nullity. Their de-ees may be againſt equity, truth, reaſon, and ligion, but they are not againſt law: becauſe law the will of the ſupreme legiſlature, and that is emſelves. And there is no manner of doubt at the ſame authority, whenever it pleaſes, may oliſh Chriſtianity, and ſet up the Jewiſh, Ma-ometan, and Heathen Religion. In ſhort, they ay do any thing within the compaſs of human ower. And therefore, who will diſpute that the me law, which deprived the church not only f lands, miſapplied to ſuperſtitious uſes, but even he tithes and glebes (the ancient and neceſſary upport of pariſh prieſts) may take away all the eſt, whenever the law-givers pleaſe, and make he prieſthood as primitive, as this writer, or thers of his ſtamp, can deſire?

But as the ſupreme power can certainly do ten houſand things more than it ought, ſo there are everal things which ſome people may think it can lo, although it really cannot. For it unfortu-

nately happens, that edicts which cannot be executed will not alter the nature of things. So, if a king and parliament ſhould pleaſe to enact, that a woman who has been a month married is *virgo intacta*, would that actually reſtore her to her primitive ſtate? If the ſupreme power ſhould reſolve a corporal of dragoons to be a doctor of divinity, law, or phyſic, few, I believe, would truſt their ſouls, fortunes, or bodies, to his direction; becauſe that power is neither fit to judge or teach thoſe qualifications which are abſolutely neceſſary to the ſeveral profeſſions. Put the caſe, that walking on the ſlack rope were the only talent required by an act of parliament for making a man a biſhop; no doubt, when a man had done his feat of activity in form, he might ſit in the Houſe of Lords, put on his robes and his rochet, go down to his palace, receive and ſpend his rents; but it requires very little Chriſtianity to believe this tumbler to be one whit more a biſhop than he was before, becauſe the law of God has otherwiſe decreed; which law, although a nation may refuſe to receive, it cannot alter in its own nature.

And here lies the miſtake of this ſuperficial man, who is not able to diſtinguiſh between what the civil power can hinder, and what it can do. "If "the parliament can annul eccleſiaſtical laws, they "muſt be able to make them, ſince no greater "power is required for one than the other." See preface, p. 8. This conſequence he repeats above twenty times, and always in the wrong. He affects

ets to form a few words into the ſhape and ſize f a maxim, then tries it by his ear, and according s he likes the ſound or cadence, pronounces it true. annot I ſtand over a man with a great pole, and inder him from making a watch, although I am ot able to make one myſelf? If I have ſtrength nough to knock a man on the head, does it follow can raiſe him to life again? The parliament nay condemn all the Greek and Roman authors; an it therefore create new ones in their ſtead? They may make laws, indeed, and call them canon nd eccleſiaſtical laws, and oblige all men to obſerve them under pain of high treaſon. And ſo nay I, who love as well as any man to have in ny own family the power in the laſt reſort, take a urnip, then tie a ſtring to it, and call it a watch, nd turn away all my ſervants, if they refuſe to call t ſo too.

For my own part, I muſt confeſs that this opinion of the independent power of the church, or *imperium in imperio*, wherewith this writer raiſes ſuch a duſt, is what I never imagined to be of any conſequence, never once heard diſputed among divines, nor remember to have read, otherwiſe than as a ſcheme in one or two authors of middle rank, but with very little weight laid on it. And I dare believe, there is hardly one divine in ten that ever once thought of this matter. Yet to ſee a large ſwelling volume written only to encounter this doctrine, what could one think leſs, than that the whole body of the clergy were perpetually tiring the preſs and the pulpit with nothing elſe?

I re-

I remember ſome years ago a virtuoſo writ a ſmall tract about worms, proved them to be in more places than was generally obſerved, and made ſome diſcoveries by glaſſes. This having met with ſome reception, preſently the poor man's head was full of nothing but worms; all we eat and drink, all the whole conſiſtence of human bodies, and thoſe of every other animal, the very air we breathed, in ſhort, all nature throughout was nothing but worms: and, by that ſyſtem, he ſolved all difficulties, and from thence all cauſes in philoſophy. Thus it has fared with our author, and his independent power. The attack againſt occaſional conformity, the ſcarcity of coffee, the invaſion of Scotland, the loſs of kerſeys and narrow cloths, the death of king William, the author's turning papiſt for preferment, the loſs of the battle of Almanza, with ten thouſand other misfortunes, are all owing to this *imperium in imperio.*

It will be therefore neceſſary to ſet this matter in a clear light, by enquiring whether the clergy have any power independent of the civil, and of what nature it is.

Whenever the Chriſtian religion was embraced by the civil power in any nation, there is no doubt but the magiſtrates and ſenates were fully inſtructed in the rudiments of it. Beſides, the Chriſtians were ſo numerous, and their worſhip ſo open before the converſion of princes, that their diſcipline, as well as doctrine, could not be a ſecret they ſaw plainly a ſubordination of eccleſiaſticks:

biſhops, prieſts, and deacons: that theſe had certain powers and employments different from the laity: that the biſhops were conſecrated, and ſet apart for that office by thoſe of their own order: that the preſbyters and deacons were differently ſet apart, always by the biſhops: that none but the eccleſiaſticks preſumed to pray or preach in places ſet apart for God's worſhip, or to adminiſter the Lord's ſupper: that all queſtions, relating either to diſcipline or doctrine, were determined in eccleſiaſtical conventions. Theſe and the like doctrines and practices, being moſt of them directly proved, and the reſt, by very fair conſequences, deduced from the words of our Saviour and his apoſtles, were certainly received as a divine law, by every prince or ſtate which admitted the Chriſtian religion: and conſequently, what they could not juſtly alter afterwards, any more than the common laws of nature. And therefore, although the ſupreme power can hinder the clergy or church from making any new canons, or executing the old; from conſecrating biſhops, or refuſe thoſe that they do conſecrate; or, in ſhort, from performing any eccleſiaſtical office, as they may from eating, drinking, and ſleeping; yet they cannot themſelves perform thoſe offices, which are aſſigned to the clergy by our Saviour and his apoſtles; or, if they do, it is not according to the divine inſtitution, and conſequently, null and void. Our Saviour tells us, "His kingdom is not of this world;" and therefore, to be ſure, the world is not of his king-

kingdom; nor can ever pleaſe him by interfering in the adminiſtration of it, ſince he has appointed miniſters of his own, and has impowered and inſtructed them for that purpoſe: ſo that I believe the clergy, who, as he ſays, are good at diſtinguiſhing, would think it reaſonable to diſtinguiſh between their power, and the liberty of exerciſing this power. The former, they claim immediately from Chriſt; and the latter, from the permiſſion, connivance, or authority of the civil government; with which the clergy's power, according to the ſolution I have given, cannot poſſibly interfere.

But, this writer, ſetting up to form a ſyſtem upon ſtale, ſcanty topicks, and a narrow circle of thought, falls into a thouſand abſurdities. And for a farther help, he has a talent of rattling out phraſes, which ſeem to have ſenſe, but have none at all: the uſual fate of thoſe who are ignorant of the force and compaſs of words, without which, it is impoſſible for a man to write either pertinently, or intelligibly, upon the moſt obvious ſubjects.

So, in the beginning of his preface, page 4, he ſays, "The church of England, being eſtabliſhed "by acts of parliament, is a perfect creature of "the civil power; I mean the polity and diſcipline "of it, and it is that which makes all the contention; for as to the doctrines expreſſed in the "articles, I do not find high church to be in any "manner of pain; but they who lay claim to "moſt orthodoxy can diſtinguiſh themſelves out

"of them." It is obſervable in this author, that his ſtyle is naturally harſh and ungrateful to the ear, and his expreſſions mean and trivial; but whenever he goes about to poliſh a period, you may be certain of ſome groſs defect in propriety or meaning: ſo, the lines juſt quoted, ſeem to run eaſily over the tongue; and upon examination, they are perfect nonſenſe and blunder: to ſpeak in his own borrowed phraſe, what is contained in the idea of eſtabliſhed? Surely, not exiſtence. Does eſtabliſhment give being to a thing? He might have ſaid the ſame thing of Chriſtianity in general, or the exiſtence of God, ſince both are confirmed by acts of parliament. But, the beſt is behind: for, in the next line, having named the church half a dozen times before, he now ſays, he means only the polity and diſcipline of it: as if, having ſpoken in praiſe of the art of phyſick, a man ſhould explain himſelf, that he meant only the inſtitution of a college of phyſicians into a preſident and fellows. And it will appear, that this author, however verſed in the practice, has groſſly tranſgreſſed the rules of nonſenſe (whoſe property it is neither to affirm nor deny) ſince every viſible aſſertion gathered from thoſe few lines is abſolutely falſe: for, where was the neceſſity of excepting the doctrines expreſſed in the articles, ſince theſe are equally creatures of the civil power, having been eſtabliſhed by acts of parliament as well as the others? But, the church of England is no creature of the civil power, either as to its polity, or

doctrines.

doctrines. The fundamentals of both were deduced from Chriſt and his apoſtles, and the inſtructions of the pureſt and earlieſt ages; and were received as ſuch by thoſe princes or ſtates who embraced Chriſtianity, whatever prudential additions have been made to the former by human laws, which alone can be juſtly altered or annulled by them.

What I have already ſaid would, I think, be a ſufficient anſwer to his whole preface, and indeed to the greateſt part of his book, which is wholly turned upon battering down a ſort of independent power in the clergy; which few or none of them ever claimed or defended. But there being certain peculiarities in this preface, that very much ſet off the wit, the learning, the raillery, reaſoning, and ſincerity of the author; I ſhall take notice of ſome of them, as I paſs.——

But here, I hope, it will not be expected, that I ſhould beſtow remarks upon every paſſage in this book, that is liable to exception for ignorance, falſhood, dulneſs, or malice. Where he is ſo inſipid, that nothing can be ſtruck out for the reader's entertainment, I ſhall obſerve Horace's rule:

Quæ deſperes tractata nitescere poſſe, relinquas.

Upon which account I ſhall ſay nothing of that great inſtance of his candour and judgement in ralation to Dr. Stillingfleet, who (happening to lie under his diſpleaſure upon the fatal teſt of *imperium in imperio*) is High-church and Jacobite, took

e oaths of allegiance to ſave him from the
; *, and ſubſcribed the articles only to keep
ferment: whereas the character of that pre-
niverſally known to have been directly the
of what this writer gives him.

, before he can attempt to ruin this damnable
1 of two independent powers, he tells us,
, "It will be neceſſary to ſhew what is con-
ed in the idea of government." Now, it is
nderſtood, that this refined way of ſpeaking
ntroduced by Mr. Locke; after whom the
limps as faſt as he is able. All the former
ophers in the world, from the age of Socrates
s, would have ignorantly put the queſtion,
ſt imperium? But now, it ſeems, we muſt
ur phraſe; and ſince our modern improve-
of human underſtanding, inſtead of deſiring
oſopher to deſcribe or define a mouſe-trap, or
e what it is; I muſt gravely aſk, what is con-
in the idea of a mouſe-trap? But then to
e how deeply this new way of putting queſ-
to a man's ſelf makes him enter into the
e of things; his preſent buſineſs is to ſhew us,
is contained in the idea of government. The
any knows nothing of the matter, and would

ge 5, he quotes biſhop Stillingfleet's vindication of the doctrine
Trinity, where the biſhop ſays, that a man might be very
n the belief of an article, though miſtaken in the explication
Upon which Tindal obſerves: "Theſe men treat the articles
ney do the oath of allegiance, which, they ſay, obliges them
actually to aſſiſt the government, but to do nothing againſt it,
is, nothing that would bring them to the gallows."

gladly

gladly be inſtructed; which he does in the follow ing words, p. 6.

"It would be in vain for one intelligent being "to pretend to ſet rules to the actions of another, "if he had it not in his power to reward the com- "pliance with, or puniſh the deviations from his "rules, by ſome good, or evil, which is not the "natural conſequence of thoſe actions; ſince the "forbidding men to do or forbear an action, on "the account of that convenience or inconveni- "ence which attends it, whether he who forbids "it will or no, can be no more than advice."

I ſhall not often draw ſuch long quotations as this, which I could not forbear to offer as a ſpecimen of the propriety and perſpicuity of this author's ſtyle. And indeed, what a light breaks out upon us all, as ſoon as we have read theſe words! how thoroughly are we inſtructed in the whole nature of government! what mighty truths are here diſcovered; and how clearly conveyed to our underſtandings! and therefore, let us melt this refined jargon into the old ſtyle for the improvement of ſuch who are not enough converſant in the new.

If the author were one who uſed to talk like one of us, he would have ſpoke in this manner: "I think it neceſſary to give a full and perfect definition of government, ſuch as will ſhew the nature and all the properties of it; and my definition is thus: One man will never cure another of ſtealing horſes, merely by minding him of the pains he has

has taken, the cold he has got, and the ſhoe-leather he has loſt, in ſtealing that horſe; nay, to warn him, that the horſe may kick or fling him, or coſt him more than he is worth in hay and oats, can be no more than advice. For, the gallows is not the natural effect of robbing on the highway, as heat is of fire; and therefore, if you will govern a man, you muſt find out ſome other way of puniſhment than what he will inflict upon himſelf."

Or, if this will not do, let us try it in another caſe (which I inſtanced before) and in his own terms. Suppoſe he had thought it neceſſary (and I think it was as much ſo as the other) to ſhew us what is contained in the idea of a mouſe-trap, he muſt have proceeded in theſe terms: "It would be in vain for an intelligent being to ſet rules for hindering a mouſe from eating his cheeſe, unleſs he can inflict upon that mouſe ſome puniſhment, which is not the natural conſequence of eating the cheeſe. For, to tell her, it may lie heavy on her ſtomach, that ſhe will grow too big to get back into her hole, and the like, can be no more than advice; therefore, we muſt find out ſome way of puniſhing her, which has more inconveniencies than ſhe will ever ſuffer by the mere eating of cheeſe." After this, who is ſo ſlow of underſtanding, as not to have in his mind a full and complete idea of a mouſe-trap? Well. — The Free-thinkers may talk what they pleaſe of pedantry, and cant, and jargon of ſchool-men, and

inſignificant terms in the writings of the clergy, if ever the moſt perplexed and perplexing follower of Ariſtotle, from Scotus to Suarez, could be a match for this author!

But the ſtrength of his arguments is equal to the clearneſs of his definitions. For, having moſt ignorantly divided government into three parts, whereof the firſt contains the other two; he attempts to prove that the clergy poſſeſs none of theſe by a divine right. And he argues thus, p. vii. "As to "a legiſlative power, if that belongs to the clergy "by divine right, it muſt be when they are aſ- "ſembled in convocation: but the 25th Hen. VIII. "c. 19. is a bar to any ſuch divine right, becauſe "that act makes it no leſs than a præmunire for "them, ſo much as to meet without the king's "writ, &c." So that the force of his argument lies here; if the clergy had a divine right, it is taken away by the 25th of Henry the Eighth. And as ridiculous as this argument is, the preface and book are founded upon it.

Another argument againſt the legiſlative power in the clergy of England is, p. viii. that Tacitus tells us; that in great affairs, the Germans conſulted the whole body of the people: "De mi- "noribus rebus principes conſultant, de majori- "bus omnes: Ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum "penes plebem arbitrium eſt, apud principes per- "tractentur." Tacitus de moribus & populis Germaniæ. Upon which Tindall obſerves thus: "De

"De majoribus omnes," was a fundamental among our anceſtors long before they arrived in Great Britain, and matters of religion were ever reckoned among their Majora. (See Pref. p. viii. and ix.) Now it is plain, that our anceſtors, the Saxons, came from Germany: It is likewiſe plain, that religion was always reckoned by the Heathens among their Majora; and it is plain, the whole body of the people could not be the clergy, and therefore the clergy of England have no legiſlative power.

Thirdly, p. ix. They have no legiſlative power, becauſe Mr. Waſhington, in his "Obſervations on "the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of the kings of "England, ſhews from undeniable authorities, "that in the time of William the Conqueror, and "ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, there were no laws "enacted concerning religion, but by the great "council of the kingdom." I hope likewiſe Mr. Waſhington obſerves, that this great council of the kingdom, as appears by undeniable authorities, was ſometimes entirely compoſed of biſhops and clergy, and called the parliament, and often conſulted upon affairs of ſtate, as well as church, as it is agreed by twenty writers of three ages; and if Mr. Waſhington ſays otherwiſe, he is an author juſt fit to be quoted by beaux.

Fourthly,—But it is endleſs to purſue this matter any farther; in that it is plain, the clergy have no divine right to make laws; becauſe Henry VIII. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth, with

their parliaments, will not allow it them. Now, without examining what divine right the clergy have, or how far it extends; is it any ſort of proof that I have no right, becauſe a ſtronger power will not let me exerciſe it? or, does all that this author ſays through his preface, or book itſelf, offer any other ſort of argument but this, or what he deduces the ſame way?

But his arguments and definitions are yet more ſupportable, than the groſſneſs of hiſtorical remarks, which are ſcattered ſo plentifully in his book, that it would be tedious to enumerate, or to ſhew the fraud and ignorance of them. I beg the reader's leave to take notice of one here juſt in my way; and the rather, becauſe I deſign for the future to let hundreds of them paſs without farther notice. "When," ſays he, p x. "by the "aboliſhing of the Pope's power, things were "brought back to their antient channel, the par-"liament's right in making eccleſiaſtical laws re-"vived of courſe." What can poſſibly be meant by this "antient channel?" Why, the channel that things ran in before the Pope had any power in England: that is to ſay, before Auſtin the monk converted England; before which time, it ſeems, the parliament had a right to make eccleſiaſtical laws. And what parliament could this be? Why, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons, met at Weſtminſter.

I cannot here forbear reproving the folly and pedantry of ſome lawyers, whoſe opinions this

poor

poor creature blindly follows, and renders yet more abſurd by his comments. The knowledge of our conſtitution can be only attained by conſulting the earlieſt Engliſh hiſtories, of which thoſe gentlemen ſeem utterly ignorant, farther than a quotation or index. They would fain derive our government as now conſtituted, from antiquity: And becauſe they have ſeen Tacitus quoted for his Majoribus omnes; and have read of the Goths military inſtitution in their progreſs and conqueſts, they preſently dream of a parliament. Had their reading reached ſo far, they might have deduced it much more fairly from Ariſtotle and Polybius; who both diſtinctly name the compoſition of *Rex*, *Seniores*, *et Populus*; and the latter, as I remember particularly, with the higheſt approbation. The princes in the Saxon Heptarchy did indeed call their nobles ſometimes together upon weighty affairs, as moſt other princes of the world have done in all ages. But, they made war and peace, and raiſed money, by their own authority: they gave or mended laws by their charters, and they raiſed armies by their tenures. Beſides, ſome of thoſe kingdoms fell in by conqueſts, before England was reduced under one head, and therefore could pretend no rights, but by the conceſſions of the conqueror.

Farther, which is more material, upon the admiſſion of Chriſtianity, great quantities of land were acquired by the clergy, ſo that the great council of the nation was often entirely of church-

men, and ever a conſiderable part. But our preſent conſtitution is an artificial thing, not fairly to be traced, in my opinion, beyond Henry I. Since which time it has in every age admitted ſeveral alterations; and differs now as much, even from what it was then, as almoſt any two ſpecies of government deſcribed by Ariſtotle. And it would be much more reaſonable to affirm, that the government of Rome continued the ſame under Juſtinian, as it was in the time of Scipio, becauſe the ſenate and conſuls ſtill remained, although the power of both had been, for ſeveral hundred years, transferred to the emperors.

REMARKS on the PREFACE.

Page iv, v. "IF men of oppoſite ſentiments can "ſubſcribe the ſame articles, they "are as much at liberty as if there were none." May not a man ſubſcribe the whole articles, becauſe he differs from another in the explication of one? how many oaths are preſcribed, that men may differ in the explication of ſome part of them? Inſtance, &c.

Page vi. "Idea of Government." A canting pedantic way, learned from Locke; and how prettily he ſhews it. Inſtance—

Page vii. "25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. is a bar to any "ſuch divine right [of a legiſlative power in the

" Clergy.]" Abſurd to argue againſt the clergy's divine right, becauſe of the ſtatute of Henry VIII. How does that deſtroy divine right? The ſottiſh way of arguing; from what the parliament can do; from their power, &c.

Page viii. " If the parliament did not think they " had a plenitude of power in this matter, they " would not have damned all the canons of 1640." What does he mean? A grave divine could not anſwer all his play-houſe and Alſatia cant, &c. He has read Hudibras, and many plays.

Ibid, " If the parliament can annul eccleſiaſtical " laws, they muſt be able to make them." Diſtinguiſh, and ſhew the fillineſs, &c.

Page viii, All that he ſays againſt the diſcipline, he might ſay the ſame againſt the doctrine, nay, againſt the belief of a God, viz. That the legiſlature might forbid it. The church forms and contrives canons; and the civil power, which is compulſive, confirms them.

Page ix. " There were no laws enacted but by " the great council of the kingdom." And that was very often, chiefly, only biſhops.

Ibid. " Laws ſettled by parliament to puniſh the " clergy." What laws were thoſe?

Page x. " The people are bound to no laws " but of their own chooſing." It is fraudulent; for they may conſent to what others chooſe, and ſo people often do.

Page xiv. paragraph 6. " The clergy are not " ſuppoſed to have any divine legiſlature, becauſe

" that muſt be ſuperior to all worldly power; and " then the clergy might as well forbid the parlia- " ment to meet but when and where they pleaſe, " &c." No ſuch conſequence at all. They have a power excluſive from all others. Ordained to act as clergy, but not govern in civil affairs; nor act without leave of the civil power.

Page xxv. " The parliament ſuſpected the love " of power natural to churchmen." Truly, ſo is the love of pudding, and moſt other things deſirable in this life; and in that they are like the laity, as in all other things that are not good. And therefore, they are held not in eſteem for what they are like in, but for their virtues. The true way to abuſe them with effect, is to tell us ſome faults of their's, that other men have not, or not ſo much of as they, &c. Might not any man ſpeak full as bad of ſenates, diets, and parliaments, as he can do about councils; and as bad of princes, as he does of biſhops?

Page xxxi. " They might as well have made " cardinals Campegi and de Chinuchii, biſhops of " Saliſbury and Worceſter, as have enacted that " their ſeveral ſees and biſhopricks were utterly " void." No. The legiſlature might determine who ſhould not be a biſhop there, but not make a biſhop.

Ibid. " Were not a great number deprived by " parliament upon the Reſtoration?" Does he mean Preſbyters? What ſignifies that?

Ibid.

›id. " Have they not truſted this power with
ır princes?" Why aye. But that argues not
t, but power. Have they not cut off a king's
l? &c. The church muſt do the beſt they
if not what they would.

age xxxvi. " If tithes and firſt-fruits are paid
› ſpiritual perſons as ſuch, the King or Queen
the moſt ſpiritual perſon, &c." As if the
·fruits, &c, were paid to the king, as tithes
ſpiritual perſon.

age xliii. " King Charles II. thought fit that
ıe biſhops in Scotland ſhould hold their biſhop-
:ks during will and pleaſure; I do not find
at high church complained of this as an en-
oachment, &c." No; but as a pernicious
ıſel of lord Loch.

age xliv. " The common law judges have a
›wer to determine, whether a man has a legal
ght to the Sacrament." They pretend it, but
t we complain of as moſt abominable hard-
, &c.

age xlv. " Giving men thus blindly to the
evil, is an extraordinary piece of complaiſance
a lay-chancellor." He is ſomething in the
t; and therefore it is a pity there are any;
I hope the church will provide againſt it.
if the ſentence be juſt, it is not the perſon,
the contempt. And if the author attacks a
on the highway, and takes but two-pence,
ıall be ſent to the gallows, more terrible to
than the devil, for his contempt of the law,
&c.

&c. Therefore he need not complain of be ſent to hell,

Page lxiv. Mr. Leſley may carry things too as it is natural, becauſe the other extreme is great. But what he ſays of the king's lo ſince the church lands were given away, is great a truth, &c.

Page lxxvi. " To which I have nothing to pl " except the zeal I have for the church of E " land," You will ſee ſome pages farther, w he means by the church; but it is not fair, to begin with telling us what is contained in idea of a church, &c.

Page lxxxiii. " They will not be angry w " me for thinking better of the church than t " do, &c." No, but they will differ from y becauſe the worſe the queen is pleaſed, you th her better. I believe the church will not conc themſelves much about your opinion of them,

Page lxxxiv. But the Popiſh, Eaſtern, P " byterian and Jacobite Clergy, &c." This is a general pardon, with ſuch exceptions as mak uſeleſs, if we compute it, &c.

Page lxxxvii. " Miſapplying of the w " Church, &c." This is caviling. No doubt project is for exempting the people: But tha not what in common ſpeech we uſually mean the church. Beſides, who does not know t diſtinction?

Ibid. " Conſtantly apply the ſame ideas " them." This is, in old Engliſh, meaning ſame thing.

Page lxxxix. "Demonſtrates I could have no "deſign but the promoting of truth, &c." Yes, ſeveral deſigns, as money, ſpleen, atheiſm, &c. What? will any man think truth was his deſign, and not money and malice? Does he expect the houſe will go into a committee for a bill to bring things to his ſcheme, to confound every thing? &c.

Some deny Tindall to be author, and produce ſtories of his dullneſs and ſtupidity. But what is there in all this book, that the dulleſt man in England might not write, if he were angry and bold enough, and had no regard to truth?

REMARKS upon the Book, &c.

Page 4. "WHETHER Louis XIV. has "ſuch a power over Philip V?" He ſpeaks here of the unlimited, uncontroulable authority of fathers. A very fooliſh queſtion; and his diſcourſe hitherto, of government, weak and trivial, and liable to objections.

Ibid. "Whom he is to conſider not as his own, "but the Almighty's workmanſhip." A very likely conſideration for the ideas of the ſtate of nature. A very wrong deduction of paternal government; but that is nothing to the diſpute, &c.

Page 12. "And as ſuch might juſtly be pu-"niſhed by every one in the ſtate of nature." Falſe; he does not ſeem to underſtand the ſtate of

of nature, although he has borrowed it fro Hobbes, &c.

Page 14. "Merely ſpeculative points, and oth "indifferent things, &c," And why are ſpecul tive opinions ſo inſignificant? do not men proce in their practice according to their ſpeculations ſo, if the author were a chancellor, and one his ſpeculations were, that the poorer the clerg the better; would not that be of great uſe, if cauſe came before him of tithes or church-lands

Ibid. "Which can only be known by ex "mining whether men had any power in the ſta "of nature over their own, or others actions, i "theſe matters." No, that is a wrong metho unleſs where religion has not been revealed; i natural religion, &c.

Ibid. "Nothing at firſt ſight can be more ol "vious, than that in all religious matters, no "could make over the right of judging for him "ſelf, ſince that would cauſe his religion to b "abſolutely at the diſpoſal of another". At hi rate of arguing (I think I do not miſrepreſent him and I believe he will not deny the conſequence) man may profeſs heatheniſm, mahometaniſm, &c gain as many proſelytes as he can; and they ma have their aſſemblies, and the magiſtrate ough to protect them, provided they do not diſ turb the ſtate: and they may enjoy all ſecular pre ferments, be lords chancellors, judges, &c. Bu there are ſome opinions in ſeveral religions, which although they do not directly make men rebel, ye

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lead to it. Nay we might have temples for idols, &c. A thouſand ſuch abſurdities follow from his general notions, and ill-digeſted ſchemes. And we ſee in the Old Teſtament, that kings were reckoned good or ill, as they ſuffered or hindered image-worſhip and idolatry, &c. which was limiting conſcience.

Page 15. "Men may form what clubs, companies, or meetings they think fit, &c. which "the magiſtrate, as long as the publick ſuſtains "no damage, cannot hinder, &c." This is falſe; although the publick ſuſtain no damage, they will forbid clubs where they think danger may happen.

Page 16. "The magiſtrate is as much obliged "to protect them in the way they chooſe of wor-"ſhiping him, as in any other indifferent mat-"ter."—Page 17. "The magiſtrate to treat all "his ſubjects alike, how much ſoever they differ "from him, or one another, in theſe matters." This ſhews, that although they be Turks, Jews, or Heathens, it is ſo. But we are ſure Chriſtianity is the only true religion, &c. and therefore it ſhould be the magiſtrate's chief care to propagate it; and that God ſhould be worſhiped in that form, that thoſe who are the teachers think moſt proper, &c.

Page 18. "So that perſecution is the moſt "comprehenſive of all crimes, &c." But he has not told us what is included in the idea of perſecution. State it right.

Ibid,

Ibid. "But here it may be demanded, if a "man's conſcience make him do ſuch acts, &c." This does not anſwer the above objection: For, if the publick be not diſturbed with atheiſtical principles preached, nor immoralities, all is well. So that ſtill men may be Jews, Turks, &c.

Page 22. "The ſame reaſon which obliges them "to make ſtatutes of mortmain, and other laws "againſt the people's giving eſtates to the clergy "will equally hold for their taking them away "when given." A great ſecurity for property! Will this hold to any other ſociety in the ſtate, as merchants, &c. or only to eccleſiaſticks? A petty project: Forming general ſchemes requires a deeper head than this man's.

Ibid. "But the good of the ſociety being the "only reaſon of the magiſtrate's having any power "over men's properties, I cannot ſee why he "ſhould deprive his ſubjects of any part thereof, "for the maintenance of ſuch opinions as have "no tendency that way, &c." Here is a paragraph (vide alſo infra) which has a great deal in it. The meaning is, that no man ought to pay tithes, who does not believe what the miniſter preaches. But how came they by this property? When they purchaſed the land, they paid only for ſo much; and the tithes were exempted. It is an older title than any man's eſtate is; and if it were taken away to-morrow, it could not, without a new law, belong to the owners of the other nine parts, any more than impropriations do.

Ibid.

Ibid. "For the maintenance of ſuch opinions, "as no ways contribute to the public good." By ſuch opinions as the publick receive no advantage by, he muſt mean Chriſtianity.

Page 23. "Who by reaſon of ſuch articles are "divided into different ſects." A pretty cauſe of ſects! &c.

Page 34. "So the ſame reaſon, as often as it "occurs, will oblige him to leave that church." This is an excuſe for his turning papiſt.

Ibid. "Unleſs you ſuppoſe churches like traps, "eaſy to admit one; but when once he is in, "there he muſt always ſtick, either for the plea- "ſure or profit of the trap-ſetters." Remark his wit.

Page 20. "Nothing can be more abſurd than "maintaining there muſt be two independent "powers in the ſame ſociety, &c." This abominably abſurd; ſhew it.

Page 33. "The whole hierarchy as built on it, "muſt neceſſarily fall to the ground, and great "will be the fall of this ſpiritual Babylon." I will do him juſtice, and take notice, when he is witty, &c.

Page 36. "For if there may be two ſuch [in- "dependent powers] in every Society on Earth, "why may there not be more than one in Hea- ven?" A delicate conſequence.

Page 37. "Without having the leſs, he could "not have the greater, in which that is con- "tained." Sophiſtical; inſtance wherein.

Page 42. "Some ſince, ſubtler than the Jews, "have managed commutations more to their own "advantage, by enriching themſelves, and beg- "garing, if Fame be not a liar, many an honeſt "diſſenter." It is fair to produce witneſſes, is ſhe a liar or not? The report is almoſt impoſſible. Commutations were contrived for roguiſh regiſters and proctors, and lay-chancellors, but not for the clergy.

Page 43. "Kings and people, who (as the In- "dians do the Devil) adored the Pope out of "fear." I am in doubt, whether I ſhall allow that for wit or not, &c. Look you, in theſe caſes, preface it thus: If one may uſe an old ſaying.

Page 44. "One reaſon why the clergy make "what they call ſchiſm, to be ſo heinous a ſin." There it is now; becauſe he has changed churches, he ridicules ſchiſm; as Milton wrote for divorces, becauſe he had an ill wife. For ten pages on, we muſt give the true anſwer, that makes all theſe arguments of no uſe.

Page 60. "It poſſibly will be ſaid, I have all "this while been doing theſe gentlemen a great "deal of wrong." To do him juſtice, he ſets forth the objections of his adverſaries with great ſtrength, and much to their advantage. No doubt thoſe are the very objections we would offer.

Page 68. "Their executioner." He is fond of this word in many places, yet there is nothing in it farther than it is the name for the hang-man, &c.

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Page 69. "Since they exclude both from having any thing in the ordering of church matters." other part of his ſcheme: for, by this, the ple ought to execute eccleſiaſtical offices with- diſtinction, for he brings the other opinion as abſurd one.

Page 72. "They claim a judicial power, and by virtue of it, the government of the church, and hereby (pardon the expreſſion) become traitors both to God and man." Who does he deſire to don him? or is this meant of the Engliſh rgy? ſo it ſeems. Does he deſire them to par- him? they do it as Chriſtians. Does he de- the government to do it? but then how can y make examples? He ſays, the clergy do ſo, . ſo he means all.

Page 74. "I would gladly know what they mean by giving the Holy Ghoſt." Explain what really meant by giving the Holy Ghoſt, like a g impowering an ambaſſador *.

Page 79. "The popiſh clergy make very bold with the Three Perſons of the Trinity." Why n, don't mix them; but we ſee whom this nces on moſt. As to the *Congé d'élire*, and *Nolo ſcopari*, not ſo abſurd; and if omitted, why nged.

Page 78. "But not to digreſs"—Pray does he l ſcurrility upon the clergy, a digreſſion? The logy needleſs, &c.

* See Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Book v. § 77.

Ibid. " A clergyman, it is ſaid, is God's am-" baſſador." But you know an ambaſſador may have a ſecretary, &c.

Ibid. " Call their pulpit ſpeeches the word of " God." That is a miſtake.

Page 79. " Such perſons to repreſent him." Are not they that own his power, fitter to repreſent him than others? Would the author be a fitter perſon?

Ibid. " Puft up with intolerable pride and in-" ſolence." Not at all; for where is the pride to be employed by a prince, whom ſo few own, and whoſe being is diſputed by ſuch as this author?

Ibid. " Perhaps from a poor ſervitor, &c. to be a " prime miniſter in God's kingdom." That is right. God takes notice of the difference between poor ſervitors, &c. Extremely fooliſh—ſhew it. The argument lies ſtrongly againſt the apoſtles, poor fiſhermen; and St. Paul, a tent-maker. So groſs and idle!

Page 80. " The formality of laying hand over " head on a man." A pun; but an old one. I remember, when Swan made that pun firſt, he was ſeverely checked for it.

Ibid. " What is more required to give one a " right, &c." Here ſhew, what power is in the church, and what in the ſtate, to make prieſts.

Page 85. " To bring men into, and not turn " them out of the ordinary way of ſalvation." Yes; but as one rotten ſheep does miſchief——and do you think it reaſonable, that ſuch a one as this

author ſhould converſe with Chriſtians, and weak ones?

Page 85. See his fine account of ſpiritual puniſhment.

Page 87. "The clergy affirm, that if they had "not the power to exclude men from the church, "its unity could not be preſerved." So to expel an ill member from a college, would be the way to divide the college; as in All-Souls, &c. Apply it to him.

Page 88. "I cannot ſee but it is contrary to "the rules of charity, to exclude men from the "church, &c." All this turns upon the falſeſt reaſoning in the world. So, if a man be impriſoned for ſtealing a horſe, he is hindered from other duties: And you might argue, that a man who does ill, ought to be more diligent in minding other duties, and not to be debarred from them. It is for contumacy and rebellion againſt that power in the church which the law has confirmed. So a man is outlawed for a trifle, upon contumacy.

Page 92. "Obliging all by penal laws to receive "the ſacrament." This is falſe.

Page 93. "The want of which means can only "harden a man in his impenitence." It is for his being hardened that he is excluded. Suppoſe a ſon robs his father in the high-way, and his father will not ſee him till he reſtores the money, and owns his fault. It is hard to deny him paying his duty in other things, &c. How abſurd this!

Page 95. " And that only they had a right *to* " give it." Another part of his ſcheme, that the people have a right to give the ſacrament. See more of it, p. 135 and 137.

Page 96. " Made familiar to ſuch practices by " the Heathen prieſts." Well; and this ſhews the neceſſity of it for peace ſake. A ſilly objection of this and other enemies to religion, to think to diſgrace it by applying heatheniſm, which only concerns the political part, wherein they were as wiſe as others, and might give rules. Inſtance in ſome, &c.

Page 98. " How differently from this do the " great pretenders to primitive practice act, &c." This a remarkable paſſage. Does he condemn or allow this myſterious way? It ſeems the firſt; and therefore theſe words are a little turned, but infallibly ſtood in the firſt draught as a great argument for popery.

Page 100. " They dreſs them up in a Sanbe- " nito." So, now we are to anſwer for the Inquiſition. One thing is, that he makes the fathers guilty of aſſerting moſt of the corruptions about the power of prieſts.

Page 104. " Some prieſts aſſume to themſelves " an arbitrary power of excluding men from the " Lord's Supper." His ſcheme; that any body may adminiſter the ſacraments, women, or children, &c.

Page 108. " One no more than another can be " reckoned a prieſt." See his ſcheme. Here he diſgraces

diſgraces what the law enacts, about the manner of conſecrating, &c.

Page 118. "Churches ſerve to worſe purpoſes "than bear-gardens." This from Hudibras.

Page 119. "In the time of that wiſe Heathen "Ammianus Marcellinus." Here he runs down all Chriſtianity in general.

Page 120. "I ſhall, in the following part of my "diſcourſe, ſhew that this doctrine is ſo far from "ſerving the ends of religion, that, 1. It prevents "the ſpreading of the goſpel, &c." This independent power in the church is like the worms; being the cauſe of all diſeaſes.

Page 125. "How eaſily could the Roman em-"perors have deſtroyed the church?" Juſt as if he had ſaid; how eaſily could Herod kill Chriſt while a child, &c.

Page 125. "The people were ſet againſt biſhops "by reaſon of their tyranny." Wrong; for the biſhops were no tyrants: their power was ſwallowed up by the popes, and the people deſired they ſhould have more. It was the regulars that tyrannized and formed prieſtcraft. He is ignorant.

Page 139. "He is not bound by the laws of "Chriſt to leave his friends in order to be bap-"tized, &c." This directly againſt the goſpel.—One would think him an emiſſary, by his preaching ſchiſm.

Page 142. "Then will the communion of ſaints "be practicable, to which the principles of all "parties, the occaſional Conformiſts only excepted,

" ſtand in direct oppoſition, &c." So that all are wrong but they. The ſcripture is fully againſt ſchiſm. Tindal promotes it, and places in it all the preſent and future happineſs of man.

Page 144. All he has hitherto ſaid on this matter, with a very little turn, were arguments for popery: for, it is certain, that religion had ſhare in very few wars for many hundred years before the Reformation, becauſe they were all of a mind. It is the ambition of rebels, preaching upon the diſcontents of ſectaries, that they are not ſupreme, which has cauſed wars for religion. He is miſtaken altogether. His little narrow underſtanding and want of learning.

Page 145. " Though ſome ſay the high-fliers " lives might ſerve for a very good rule, if men " would act quite contrary to them." Is he one of thoſe ſome? Beſide the new turn of wit, &c. all the clergy in England come under his notion of high-fliers, as he ſtates it.

Page 147. " None of them (Churchmen) could " be brought to acknowledge it lawful upon any " account whatever, to exclude the duke of York." This account falſe in fact.

Ibid. " And the body politic, whether eccle- " ſiaſtical or civil, muſt be dealt with after the ſame " manner as the body natural." What, becauſe it is called a body, and is a ſimile, muſt it hold in all circumſtances?

Page 148. " We find all wiſe legiſlators have " had regard to the tempers, inclinations, and pre- " judices,

"judices, &c." This paragraph falſe.—It was directly contrary in ſeveral, as Lycurgus, &c.

Page 152. "All the ſkill of the prelatiſts is "not able to diſcover the leaſt diſtinction between "biſhop and preſbyter," Yet, God knows, this hath been done many a time,

Page 158. "The epiſtle to the Philippians is "directed to the biſhops and deacons. I mean in "due order after the people, viz. to the ſaints "with their biſhops and deacons." I hope he would argue from another place, that the people precede the king, becauſe of theſe words; "Ye "ſhall be deſtroyed, both you and your king."

Page 167. "The pope and other great church "dons." I ſuppoſe, he means biſhops: but I wiſh he would explain himſelf, and not be ſo very witty in the midſt of an argument; it is like two mediums; not fair in diſputing

Page 161. "Clemens Romanus blames the peo- "ple, not for aſſuming a power, but for making "a wrong uſe of it, &c." His great error all along is, that he does not diſtinguiſh between a power, and a liberty of exerciſing that power, &c. I would appeal to any man, whether the clergy have not too little power, ſince a book like his, that unſettles foundations, and would deſtroy all, goes unpuniſhed, &c.

Page 171, "By this or ſome ſuch method the "biſhops obtained their power over their fellow "preſbyters, and both over the people. The "whole tenor of the goſpel directly contrary to

" it." Then it is not an allowable means: This carries it ſo far as to ſpoil his own ſyſtem; it is a ſin to have biſhops as we have them.

Page 172. " The preſervation of peace and " unity, and not any divine right, was the reaſon " of eſtabliſhing a ſuperiority of one of the preſ- " byters over the reſt. Otherwiſe there would, " as they ſay, have been as many ſchiſmaticks as " preſbyters. No great compliment to the clergy " of thoſe days." Why ſo? It is the natural effect of a worſe independency, which he keepes ſuch a clatter about; an independency of churches on each other, which muſt naturally create ſchiſm.

Page 183. " How could the Chriſtians have " aſſerted the diſintereſtedneſs of thoſe who firſt " preached the goſpel, particularly their having a " right to the tenth part?" Yes, that would have paſſed eaſy enough; for they could not imagine teachers could live on air; and their heathen prieſts were much more unreaſonable.

Page 184. " Mens ſuffering for ſuch opinions " is not ſufficient to ſupport the weight of them." This is a glance againſt Chriſtianity. State the caſe of convert infidels; the converters are ſuppoſed few; the bulk of the prieſts muſt be of the converted country. It is their own people therefore they maintain. What project or end can a few converters propoſe? they can leave no power to their families, &c. State this, I ſay, at length, and give it a true turn. Princes give corporations power to purchaſe lands.

Page 187. "That it became an eaſy prey to 'the barbarous nations." Ignorance in Tindal. The empire long declined before Chriſtianity was introduced. This a wrong cauſe, if ever there was one.

Page 190. "It is the clergy's intereſt to have religion corrupted." Quite the contrary; prove it. How is it the intereſt of the Engliſh clergy to corrupt religion? The more juſtice and piety the people have, the better it is for them; for that would prevent the penury of farmers, and the oppreſſion of exacting covetous landlords, &c. That which has corrupted religion, is the liberty unlimited of profeſſing all opinions. Do not lawyers render law intricate by their ſpeculations, &c. And phyſicians, &c.

Page 209. "The ſpirit and temper of the "clergy, &c." What does this man think the clergy are made of? Anſwer generally to what he ſays againſt councils in the ten pages before. Suppoſe I ſhould bring quotations in their praiſe.

Page 211. "As the clergy, though few in "compariſon of the laity, were the inventors of "corruptions." His ſcheme is, that the fewer and poorer the clergy the better, and the contrary among the laity. A noble principle; and delicate conſequences from it!

Page 207. "Men are not always condemned "for the ſake of opinions, but opinions ſometimes "for the ſake of men." And ſo, he hopes, that if his opinions are condemned, people will think

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it is a ſpite againſt him, as having been always ſcandalous.

Page 210. "The meaneſt layman as good a "judge as the greateſt prieſt, for the meaneſt man "is as much intereſted in the truth of religion as "the greateſt prieſt." As if one ſhould ſay, the meaneſt ſick man has as much intereſt in health as a phyſician, therefore is as good a judge of phyſick as a phyſician, &c.

Ibid. "Had ſynods been compoſed of laymen, "none of thoſe corruptions which tend to advance "the intereſt of the clergy, &c." True. But the part the laity had in reforming, was little more than plundering. He ſhould underſtand that the nature of things is this, that the clergy are made of men, and without ſome encouragement they will not have the beſt, but the worſt.

Page 215. "They who gave eſtates to, rather "than they who took them from, the clergy, "were guilty of ſacrilege." Then the people are the church, and the clergy not; another part of his ſcheme.

Page 219. "The clergy as they ſubſiſted by "the alms of the people, &c." This he would have ſtill. Shew the folly of it. Not poſſible to ſhew any civilized nation ever did it. Who would be clergymen then? The abſurdity appears by putting the caſe, that none were to be ſtateſmen, lawyers, or phyſicians, but who were to ſubſiſt by alms.

Page 222. "Theſe ſubtle clergymen work "their deſigns, who lately cut out ſuch a tacking "job

"job for them, &c." He is miſtaken—every body was for the bill almoſt, though not for the tack. The biſhop of Sarum was for it, as appears by his ſpeech againſt it. But it ſeems, the tacking is owing to metaphyſical ſpeculations. I wonder whether is moſt perplexed, this author in his ſtyle, or the writings of our divines. In the judgement of all people, our divines have carried practical preaching and writing to the greateſt perfection it ever arrived to; which ſhews, that we may affirm in general, our clergy is excellent, although this or that man be faulty. As if an army be conſtantly victorious, regular, &c. we may ſay, it is an excellent victorious army: But, Tindal, to diſparage it, would ſay, ſuch a ſerjeant ran away; ſuch an enſign hid himſelf in a ditch; nay, one colonel turned his back, therefore it is a corrupt, cowardly army, &c.

Page 224. "They were as apprehenſive of the "works of Ariſtotle as ſome men are of the works "of a late philoſopher, which, they are afraid, "will let too much light into the world." Yet juſt ſuch another; only a commentator on Ariſtotle. People are likely to improve their underſtanding much with Locke: It is not his Human Underſtanding, but other works, that people diſlike, although in that there are ſome dangerous tenets, as that of no innate ideas.

Page 226. "Could they, like the popiſh prieſts, "add to this a reſtraint on the preſs, their buſineſs "would be done." So it ought: For example, to hinder his book, becauſe it is written to juſtify the vices

vices and infidelity of the age. There can be no other deſign in it. For, is this a way or manner to do good? railing does but provoke. The opinion of the whole parliament is, the clergy are too poor.

Ibid. "When ſome nations could be no longer "kept from prying into learning, this miſerable "gibberiſh of the ſchools was contrived." We have exploded ſchoolmen as much as he, and in ſome peoples opinion too much, ſince the liberty of embracing any opinion is allowed; they following Ariſtotle, who is doubtleſs the greateſt maſter of arguing in the world: But it has been a faſhion of late years to explode Ariſtotle, and therefore this man has fallen into it like others, for that reaſon, without underſtanding him. Ariſtotle's poetry, rhetorick, and politicks, are admirable; and therefore, it is likely, ſo are his logicks.

Page 230. "In theſe freer countries, as the "clergy have leſs power, ſo religion is better un-"derſtood, and more uſeful and excellent diſ-"courſes are made on that ſubject, &c." Not generally. Holland not very famous, Spain has been, and France is. But it requires more knowledge than his, to form general rules, which people ſtrain (when ignorant) to falſe deductions to make them out.

Page 232. Chap. VII. That this hypotheſis of an independent power in any ſet of clergymen, makes all reformation unlawful, except where thoſe who have this power do conſent. The title of this chapter, a Truiſm.

Page 234. "If God has not placed mankind in "respect to civil matters under an absolute power, "but has permitted them in every society to act as "they judge best for their own safety, &c." Bad parallels; bad politicks; want of due distinction between teaching and government. The people may know when they are governed well, but not be wiser than their instructors. Shew the difference.

Ibid. "If God has allowed the civil society these "privileges, can we suppose he has less kindness "for his church, &c.?" Here they are distinguished then, here it makes for him. It is a sort of turn of expression, which is scarce with him, and he contradicts himself to follow it.

Page 235. "This cursed hypothesis had, per-"haps, never been thought on with relation to "civils, had not the clergy (who have an inexhau-"stible magazine of oppressive doctrines) contriv-"ed first in ecclesiasticals, &c." The seventh paragraph furious and false. Were there no tyrants before the clergy, &c.?

Page 236. "Therefore in order to serve them, "though I expect little thanks, &c." And why so? Will they not, as you say, follow their interest? I thought you said so. He has three or four spritely turns of this kind, that look as if he thought he had done wonders, and had put all the clergy in a ferment. Whereas, I do assure him, there are but two things wonderful in his book: First, how any man in a Christian country could have the boldness and wickedness to write it:

And how any government would neglect puniſhing the author of it, if not as an enemy of religion, yet as a profligate trumpeter of ſedition. Theſe are hard words, got by reading his book.

Ibid. "The light of nature, as well as the goſ-" pel, obliges people to judge of themſelves, &c. "to avoid falſe prophets, ſeducers, &c." The legiſlature can turn out a prieſt, and appoint another ready-made, but not make one; as you diſcharge a phyſician, and may take a farrier; but he is no phyſician, unleſs made as he ought to be.

Ibid. "Since no more power is required for the "one than the other." That is, I diſlike my phyſician, and can turn him off, therefore I can make any man a phyſician, &c. *Cujus eſt deſtruere*, &c. Jeſt on it: Therefore, becauſe he lays ſchemes for deſtroying the church, we muſt employ him to raiſe it again. See what danger lies in applying maxims at random. So, becauſe it is the ſoldiers buſineſs to knock men on the head, it is theirs likewiſe to raiſe them to life, &c.

Page 237. "It can belong only to the people to "appoint their own eccleſiaſtical officers." This word "people" is ſo delicious in him, that I cannot tell what is included in the idea of the "people." Does he mean the rabble or the legiſlature, &c.? In this ſenſe it may be true, that the legiſlature gives leave to the biſhops to appoint, and they appoint themſelves; I mean, the executive power appoints, &c. He ſhews his ignorance in government. As to High Church, he carries it a prodi-

gious

gious way, and includes, in the idea of it, more than others will allow.

Page 239. "Though it be cuſtomary to admit "none to the miniſtry who are not approved by the "biſhops or prieſts, &c." One of his principles to expoſe.

Ibid. "If every one has not an inherent right "to chooſe his own guide, then a man muſt be "either of the religion of his guide, or, &c." That would make delicate work in a nation: What would become of all our churches? They muſt dwindle into conventicles. Shew what would be the conſequence of this ſcheme in ſeveral points. This great reformer, if his projects were reduced to practice, how many thouſand ſects, and conſequently tumults, &c. Men muſt be governed in ſpeculation, at leaſt not ſuffered to vent them, becauſe opinions tend to actions, which are moſt governed by opinions, &c. If thoſe who write for the church writ no better, they would ſucceed but ſcurvily. But to ſee whether he be a good writer, let us ſee when he has publiſhed his ſecond part.

Page 253. "An excellent author in his preface "to the account of Denmark." This man judges and writes much of a level. Moleſworth's preface full of ſtale profligate topicks. That author wrote his book in ſpite to a nation, as this does to religion, and both perhaps on poor perſonal piques.

Ibid. "By which means, and not by any dif-"ference in ſpeculative matters, they are more "rich

" rich and populous." As if ever any body thought that a difference in ſpeculative opinions made men richer or poorer; for example, &c.

Page 258. " Play the Devil for God's ſake." If this is meant for wit, I would be glad to obſerve it; but in ſuch caſes I firſt look whether there be common ſenſe, &c.

Page 261. " Chriſtendom has been the ſcene of " perpetual wars, maſſacres, &c" He does not conſider that moſt religious wars have been cauſed by ſchiſms, when the diſſenting parties were ready to join with any ambitious diſcontented men. The national religion always deſires peace, even in her notions, for its intereſts.

Page 270. " Some have taken the liberty to com- " pare a high-church prieſt in politics, to a mon- " key in a glaſs-ſhop, where, as he can do no " good, ſo he never fails of doing miſchief enough." That is his modeſty, it is his own ſimile, and it rather fits a man that does ſo and ſo, meaning himſelf. Beſides, the compariſon is fooliſh: So it is with men, as with ſtags.

Page 276. " Their intereſt obliges them directly " to promote tyranny." The matter is, that Chriſtianity is the fault which ſpoils the prieſts, for they were like other men before they were prieſts. Among the Romans, prieſts did not do ſo; for they had the greateſt power during the republick. I wonder he did not prove they ſpoiled Nero.

Page 277. " No princes have been more inſup- " portable, and done greater violence to the com- " monwealth,

"monwealth, than thoſe the clergy have honoured "for ſaints and martyrs." For example in our country, the princes moſt celebrated by our clergy are, &c. &c. &c. And the quarrels ſince the Conqueſt were nothing at all of the clergy, but purely of families, &c. wherein the clergy only joined like other men.

Page 279. "After the Reformation, I deſire to "know whether the conduct of the clergy was any "ways altered for the better, &c." Monſtrous miſrepreſentation! Does this man's ſpirit of declaiming let him forget all truth of fact, as here, &c.? Shew it. Or does he flatter himſelf, a time will come in future ages, that men will believe it on his word? In ſhort, between declaiming, between miſrepreſenting, and falſeneſs, and charging popiſh things, and independency huddled together, his whole book is employed.

Set forth at large the neceſſity of union in religion, and the diſadvantage of the contrary, and anſwer the contrary in Holland, where they have no religion, and are the worſt conſtituted government in the world to laſt. It is ignorance of cauſes and appearances which makes ſhallow people judge ſo much to their advantage. They are governed by the adminiſtration and almoſt legiſlature of Holland through advantage of property, nor are they fit to be ſet in balance with a noble kingdom, &c. like a man that gets a hundred pounds a year by hard labour, and one that has it in land.

Page 280. "It may be worth enquiring, whe-
"ther the difference between the ſeveral ſects in
"England, &c." A noble notion ſtarted, that
union in the church muſt enſlave the kingdom; re-
flect on it. This man has ſomewhere heard, that
it is a point of wit to advance paradoxes, and the
bolder the better. But the wit lies in maintaining
them, which he neglects, and forms imaginary
concluſions from them, as if they were true and
unconteſted.

He adds, "That in the beſt conſtituted church
"the greateſt good which can be expected of the
"eccleſiaſtics, is, from their diviſions." This is a
maxim deduced from a gradation of falſe ſuppoſi-
tions. If a man ſhould turn the tables, and argue
that all the debauchery, atheiſm, licentiouſneſs, &c.
of the times, were owing to the poverty of the
clergy, &c. what would he ſay? There have been
more wars of religion ſince the ruin of the clergy
than before, in England. All the civil wars before
were from other cauſes.

Page 283. "Prayers are made in the loyal Uni-
"verſity of Oxford, to continue the throne free
"from the contagion of ſchiſm. See Mather's
"Sermon on the 29th of May, 1705." Thus he
ridicules the univerſity, while he is eating their
bread. The whole Univerſity comes with their
moſt loyal addreſſes, yet that goes for nothing. If
one indiſcreet man drops an indiſcreet word, he
muſt anſwer for it.

Page 286. "By allowing all, who hold no opi-
"nions prejudicial to the ſtate, and contribute
"equal

" equally with their fellow-ſubjects to its ſupport, " equal privileges in it." But who denies that of the diſſenters? The Calviniſt ſcheme, one would not think proper for monarchy. Therefore, they fall-in with the Scotch, Geneva, and Holland; and when they had ſtrength here, they pulled down the monarchy. But I will tell an opinion they hold prejudicial to the ſtate in his opinion; and that is, that they are againſt toleration, of which if I do not ſhew him ten times more inſtances from their greateſt writers, than he can do of paſſive obedience among the clergy, I have done.

" Does not juſtice demand, that they who alike " contribute to the burden, ſhould alike receive the " advantage?" Here is another of his maxims cloſely put without conſidering what exceptions may be made. The papiſts have contributed doubly (being ſo taxed) therefore by this rule they ought to have double advantage. Protection in property, leave to trade and purchaſe, &c. are enough for a government to give. Employments in a ſtate are a reward for thoſe who entirely agree with it, &c. For example, a man who upon all occaſions declared his opinion of a commonwealth to be preferable to a monarchy, would not be a fit man to have employments; let him enjoy his opinion, but not be in a capacity of reducing it to practice, &c.

Page 287. " There can be no alteration in the " eſtabliſhed mode of church-diſcipline, which is " not made in a legal way." Oh! but there are ſeveral methods to compaſs this legal way, by cun-

ning, faction, induſtry. The common people, he knows, may be wrought upon by prieſts; theſe may influence the faction, and ſo compaſs a very pernicious law, and in a legal way ruin the ſtate; as king Charles I. began to be ruined in a legal way, by paſſing bills, &c.

Page 288. "As every thing is perſecution which "puts a man in a worſe condition than his neigh-"bours." It is hard to think ſometimes whether this man is hired to write for, or againſt Diſſenters, and the ſects. This is their opinion, although they will not own it ſo roundly. Let this be brought to practice: Make a quaker lord chancellor, who thinks paying tithes unlawful. And bring other inſtances to ſhew that ſeveral employments affect the church.

Ibid. "Great advantage which both church and "ſtate have got by the kindneſs already ſhewn to "Diſſenters." Let them then be thankful for that. We humour children for their good ſometimes, but too much may hurt. Obſerve that this 64th paragraph juſt contradicts the former. For, if we have advantage by kindneſs ſhewn Diſſenters, then there is no neceſſity of baniſhment, or death.

Page 290. "Chriſt never deſigned the Holy Sa-"crament ſhould be proſtituted to ſerve a party. "And then people ſhould be bribed by a place to "receive unworthily." Why, the buſineſs is, to be ſure, that thoſe who are employed, are of the national church; and the way to know it, is, by receiving the ſacrament, which all men ought to do

do in their own church; and if not, are hardly fit for an office; and if they have thoſe moral qualifications he mentions, joined to religion, no fear of receiving unworthily. And for this there might be a remedy: To take an oath that they are of the ſame principles, &c. for that is the end of receiving; and that it might be no bribe, the bill againſt occaſional conformity would prevent entirely.

Ibid. "Preferring men not for their capacity, "but their zeal to the church." The misfortune is, that if we prefer diſſenters to great poſts, they will have an inclination to make themſelves the national church, and ſo there will be perpetual ſtruggling; which caſe may be dangerous to the ſtate. For, men are naturally wiſhing to get over others to their own opinion: witneſs this writer, who has publiſhed as ſingular and abſurd notions as poſſible, yet has a mighty zeal to bring us over to them, &c.

Page 292. Here are two pages of ſcurrilous faction, with a deal of reflexions on great perſons. Under the notion of high churchmen, he runs down all uniformity and church government. Here is the whole lower houſe of convocation, which repreſents the body of the clergy, and both univerſities, treated with rudeneſs, by an obſcure, corrupt member, while he is eating their bread.

Page 294. "The reaſon why the middle ſort 'of people retain ſo much of their ancient virtue, '&c. is becauſe no ſuch pernicious notions are the 'ingredients of their education; which it is a

" ſign are infinitely abſurd, when ſo many of the " gentry and nobility can, notwithſtanding their " prepoſſeſſion, get clear of them." Now the very ſame argument lies againſt religion, morality, honour, and honeſty; which are, it ſeems, but prejudices of education, and too many get clear of them. The middle ſort of people have other things to mind than the factions of the age. He always aſſigns many cauſes, and ſometimes with reaſon, ſince he makes imaginary effects. He quarrels at power being lodged in the clergy: When there is no reaſonable proteſtant, clergy or laity, who will not readily own the inconveniences by too great power and wealth, in any one body of men, eccleſiaſticks, or ſeculars: But, on that account to weed up the wheat with the tares; to baniſh all religion, becauſe it is capable of being corrupted; to give unbounded licence to all ſects, &c.—And if hereſies had not been uſed with ſome violence in the primitive age, we ſhould have had, inſtead of true religion, the moſt corrupt one in the world.

Page 316. " The Dutch, and the reſt of our " preſbyterian allies, &c." The Dutch will hardly thank him for this appellation. The French Huguenots, and Geneva Proteſtants themſelves, and others, have lamented the want of epiſcopacy, and approved ours, &c. In this and the next paragraph, the author introduces the argument he formerly uſed, when he turned papiſt in king James's time; and loth to loſe them, he gives them a new turn;

and

and they are the ſtrongeſt in his book, at leaſt have moſt artifice.

Page 333. "'Tis plain, all the power the bi-"ſhops have, is derived from the people, &c." In general the diſtinction lies here. The permiſſive power of exerciſing juriſdiction lies in the people, or legiſlature, or adminiſtrator of a kingdom; but not of making him a biſhop; as a phyſician that commences abroad, may be ſuffered to practiſe in London or be hindered; but they have not the power of creating him a doctor, which is peculiar to a univerſity. This is ſome alluſion; but the thing is plain, as it ſeems to me, and wants no ſubterfuge, &c.

Page 338. "A journeyman biſhop to ordain "for him." Does any man think, that writing at this rate does the author's cauſe any ſervice? is it his wit or his ſpleen that he cannot govern?

Page 364. "Can any have a right to an office, "without having a right to do thoſe things in "which the office conſiſts?" I anſwer, the ordination is valid. But a man may prudentially forbid to do ſome things: as a clergymen may marry without licence or banns; the marriage is good; yet he is puniſhable for it.

Page 368, "A choice made by perſons who have "no right to chooſe, is an error of the firſt concoc-"tion." That battered ſimile again! this is hard. I wiſh phyſicians had kept that a ſecret, it lies ſo ready for him to be witty with.

Page 370. "If preſcription can make mere nul-"lities to become good and valid, the laity may be

" capable of all manner of eccleſiaſtical power, &c." There is a difference; for, here the ſame way is kept, although there might be breaches; but it is quite otherwiſe, if you alter the whole method from what it was at firſt. We ſee biſhops: there always were biſhops: it is the old way ſtill. So a family is ſtill held the ſame, although we are not ſure of the purity of every one of the race.

Page 380. " It is ſaid, that every nation is not " a complete body politic within itſelf as to ec- " cleſiaſticals. But the whole church, ſay they, " compoſes ſuch a body, and Chriſt is the head " of it. But Chriſt's headſhip makes Chriſtians " no more one body politic with reſpect to eccle- " ſiaſticals, than the civils." Here we muſt ſhew the reaſon and neceſſity of the church being a corporation all over the world: to avoid hereſies, and preſerve fundamentals, and hinder the corrupting of ſcripture, &c. But there are no ſuch neceſſities in government, to be the ſame every where, &c. It is ſomething like the colleges in a univerſity: they all are independent, yet joined, are one body. So a general council conſiſteth of many perſons independent of one another, &c.

However there is ſuch a thing as *Jus Gentium*, &c. And he that is doctor of phyſick, or law, is ſo in any univerſity in Europe, like the Reſpublica Litteraria. Nor to me does there ſeem any thing contradicting, or improper in this notion of the catholick church; and for want of ſuch a communion, religion is ſo much corrupted, and would

be

more, if there were not more communion in
than in civils. It is of no import to mankind
w nations are governed; but the preſerving the
ity of religion is beſt held up by endeavouring
nake it one body over the world. Something
as there is in trade. So to be able to commu-
ıte with all chriſtians we come among, is at
t to be wiſhed and aimed at, as much as we

'age 384. "In a word, if the biſhops are not
ıpreme, &c." Here he reaſſumeth his argu-
ıts for popery, that there cannot be a body
tic of the church through the whole world,
hout a viſible head to have recourſe to. Theſe
e formerly writ to advance popery, and now to
an abſurdity upon the hypotheſis of a catholic
rch. As they ſay in Ireland, in king James's
e they built maſs-houſes, which we make very
d barns of.

'age 388. "Biſhops are, under a premunire,
bliged to confirm and conſecrate the perſon
amed in the *congé d'élire*." This perhaps is com-
ned of. He is permitted to do it. We allow the
ſlature may hinder, if they pleaſe; as they may
ı out chriſtianity, if they think fit.

'age 389 "It is the magiſtrate who impowers
ıem to do more for other biſhops than they
an for themſelves, ſince they cannot appoint
ıeir own ſucceſſors." Yes they could, if the
;iſtrate would let them. Here is an endleſs
ıtter, and a parcel of perplexed diſtinctions upon

no

no occaſion. All that the clergy pretend to, is a right of qualifying men for the miniſtry, ſomething like what a univerſity doth with degrees. This power they claim from God, and that the civil power cannot do it as pleaſing to God without them; but they may chooſe whether they will ſuffer it or not. A religion cannot be crammed down a nation's throat againſt their will; but when they receive a religion, it is ſuppoſed they receive it as their converters give it; and, upon that foot, they cannot juſtly mingle their own methods, that contradict that religion, &c.

Page 390. "With us the biſhops act only miniſterially, and by virtue of the regal commiſſion, by which the prince firmly enjoins and commands them to proceed in chooſing, confirming, and conſecrating, &c." Suppoſe we held it unlawful to do ſo: How can we help it? But does that make it rightful, if it be not ſo? Suppoſe the author lived in a heathen country where a law would be made to call chriſtianity idolatrous; would that be a topick for him to prove it ſo by, &c. And why do the clergy incur a premunire; to frighten them? Becauſe the law underſtandeth, that, if they refuſe, the choſen cannot be a biſhop: But, if the clergy had an order to do it otherwiſe than they have preſcribed, they ought and would incur a hundred rather.

Page 402. "I believe the catholic church, &c." Here he ridicules the Apoſtles Creed. Another part of his ſcheme. By what he ſays in theſe pages,

s, it is certain, his deſign is either to run
a chriſtianity, or ſet up popery; the latter it is
e charitable to think, and, from his paſt life,
ıly probable.

age 405. "That which gave the papiſts ſo
eat advantage was, clergymens talking ſo very
conſiſtent with themſelves, &c." State the
rence here between our ſeparation from Rome,
the diſſenters from us, and ſhew the falſeneſs
what he ſays. I wiſh he would tell us what
leaves for a clergyman to do, if he may not
ruct the people in religion, and if they ſhould
receive his inſtructions.

'age 411. "The reſtraint of the preſs a badge of
opery." Why is that a badge of popery? why
reſtrain the preſs to thoſe who would confound
gion, as in civil matters? But this toucheth
ıſelf. He would ſtarve, perhaps, &c. Let him
ſome honeſter livelihood then. It is plain, all
arguments againſt conſtraint, &c. favour the
piſts as much as Diſſenters; for both have opi-
ns that may affect the peace of the ſtate.

Page 413. "Since this Diſcourſe, &c." And
ıſt we have another volume on this one ſubject
independency? or, is it to fright us? I am
t of Dr. Hickes's mind, *Qu'il venge.* I pity the
ıders, and the clergy that muſt anſwer it, be
ever ſo inſipid. Reflect on this ſarcaſtic conclu-
n, &c.

CON-

CONCERNING

THAT UNIVERSAL HATRED,

WHICH

PREVAILS againſt the CLERGY.

MAY 24, MDCCXXXVI.

I HAVE been long conſidering and conjecturing, what could be the cauſes of that great diſguſt, of late, againſt the clergy of both kingdoms, beyond what was ever known, till that monſter and tyrant, Henry VIII. who took away from them, againſt law, reaſon, and juſtice, at leaſt two thirds of their legal poſſeſſions; and whoſe ſucceſſors (except Queen Mary) went on with their rapine, till the acceſſion of King James I. That deteſtable tyrant Henry VIII. although he aboliſhed the Pope's power in England, as univerſal biſhop, yet what he did in that article, however juſt it were in itſelf, was the mere effect of his irregular appetite, to divorce himſelf from a wife he was weary of, for a younger and more beautiful woman, whom he afterwards beheaded. But, at the ſame time, he was an entire defender of all the

the popiſh doctrines, even thoſe which were the moſt abſurd. And, while he put people to death for denying him to be head of the church, he burned every offender againſt the doctrines of the Roman faith; and cut off the head of ſir Thomas More, a perſon of the greateſt virtue this kingdom ever produced, for not directly owning him to be head of the church. Among all the princes who ever reigned in the world there was never ſo infernal a beaſt as Henry VIII. in every vice of the moſt odious kind, without any one appearance of virtue: but cruelty, luſt, rapine, and atheiſm, were his peculiar talents. He rejected the power of the Pope for no other reaſon, than to give his full ſwing to commit ſacrilege, in which no tyrant, ſince chriſtianity became national, did ever equal him by many degrees. The abbeys, endowed with lands by the miſtaken notion of well-diſpoſed men, were indeed too numerous, and hurtful to the kingdom; and, therefore, the legiſlature might, after the Reformation, have juſtly applied them to ſome pious or public uſes.

In a very few centuries after Chriſtianity became national in moſt parts of Europe, although the church of Rome had already introduced many corruptions in religion; yet the piety of early Chriſtians, as well as the new converts, was ſo great, and particularly princes, as well as noblemen and other wealthy perſons, that they built many religious houſes, for thoſe who were inclined to live in a recluſe or ſolitary manner, endowing

oſe monaſteries with land. It is true, we read of onks ſome ages before, who dwelt in caves and lls, in deſert places. But, when public edifices ere erected and endowed, they began gradually degenerate into idleneſs, ignorance, avarice, amtion and luxury, after the uſual fate of all human ſtitutions. The popes, who had already aggranzed themſelves, laid hold of the opportunity to ıbject all religious houſes with their priors and abts, to their peculiar authority; whereby theſe :ligious orders became of an intereſt directly dif:rent from the reſt of mankind, and wholly at ıe pope's devotion. I need ſay no more on this :ticle, ſo generally known and ſo frequently :eated, or of the frequent endeavours of ſome ther princes, as well as our own, to check the rowth, and wealth, and power of the regulars.

In later times, this miſtaken piety, of erecting nd endowing abbeys, began to decreaſe. And herefore, when ſome new-invented ſect of monks nd friars began to ſtart up, not being able to ›rocure grants of land, they got leave from the ›ope to appropriate the tithes and glebes of certain ›ariſhes, as contiguous or near as they could find, ›bliging themſelves to ſend out ſome of their body :o take care of the people's ſouls; and, if ſome ›f thoſe pariſhes were at too great a diſtance from the abbey, the monks appointed to attend them, were paid, for the cure, either a ſmall ſtipend of a determined ſum, or ſometimes a third part, or what are now called the vicarial tithes.

As

As to the church-lands, it hath been the opinion of many writers, that, in England, they amounted to a third part of the whole kingdom. And therefore, if that wicked Prince abovementioned, when he had caſt off the Pope's power, had introduced ſome reformation in religion, he could not have been blamed for taking away the abbey-lands by authority of parliament. But, when he continued the moſt cruel perſecution of all thoſe who differed in the leaſt article of the popiſh religion, which was then the national and eſtabliſhed faith, his ſeizing on thoſe lands, and applying them to prophane uſes, was abſolute ſacrilege, in the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the word; having been bequeathed by princes and pious men to ſacred uſes.

In the reign of this prince, the church and court of Rome had arrived to ſuch a height of corruption, in doctrine and diſcipline, as gave great offence to many wiſe, learned, and pious men through moſt parts of Europe; and ſeveral countries agreed to make ſome reformation in religion. But, although a proper and juſt reformation were allowed to be neceſſary, even to preſerve Chriſtianity itſelf, yet the paſſions and vices of men had mingled themſelves ſo far, as to pervert and confound all the good endeavours of thoſe who intended well: And thus the reformation, in every country where it was attempted, was carried on in the moſt impious and ſcandalous manner that can poſſibly be conceived. To which unhappy proceedings we owe all the juſt reproaches that

Roman

Roman Catholics have caſt upon us ever ſince. For, when the northern kingdoms and ſtates grew weary of the Pope's tyranny, and when their preachers, beginning with the ſcandalous abuſes of indulgences, and proceeding farther to examine ſeveral points of faith, had credit enough with their princes, who were in ſome fear leſt ſuch a change might affect the peace of their countries, becauſe their biſhops had great influence on the people by their wealth and power; theſe politic teachers had a ready anſwer to this purpoſe: "Sir, your majeſty need not be in any pain or apprehenſion: take away the lands, and ſink the authority of the biſhops: beſtow thoſe lands on your courtiers, on your nobles, and your great officers in your army; and then you will be ſecure of the people." This advice was exactly followed. And, in the proteſtant monarchies abroad, little more than the ſhadow of epiſcopacy is left: but, in the republics, is wholly extinct.

In England, the reformation was brought in after a ſomewhat different manner, but upon the ſame principle of robbing the church. However, Henry VIII. with great dexterity, diſcovered an invention to gratify his inſatiable thirſt for blood, on both religions, * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

A LETTER,

Giving an Account of a PESTILENT NEIGHBOUR.

SIR,

YOU muſt give me leave to complain of a *peſtilent* fellow in my neighbourhood, who is always beating *mortar*, yet I cannot find he ever builds. In talking he uſeth ſuch hard words, that I want a Drugger-man to interpret them. But all is not gold that *gliſters*. *A pot he carries* to moſt houſes where he viſits. He makes his prentice his *gally*-ſlave. I wiſh our lane were *purged* of him. Yet he pretends to be a *cordial* man. Every *ſpring* his ſhop is crouded with country-folks; who, by their *leaves*, in my opinion, help him to do a great deal of miſchief. He is full of *ſcruples*; and ſo very litigious, that he *files bills* againſt all his acquaintance: and, though he be much troubled with the *ſimples*, yet I aſſure you he is a *Jeſuitical dog*; as you may know by his *bark*. Of all poetry he loves the *dram-a-tick* beſt. I am, &c.

A Letter to the EARL of PEMBROKE.

MY LORD, 1709, at a conjecture.

IT is now a good while ſince I reſolved to take ſome occaſions of congratulating with your Lordſhip, and condoling with the public, upon your lordſhip's leaving the admiralty; and I thought I could never chooſe a better time, than when I am in the country with my lord biſhop of Clogher, and his brother the doctor: for we pretend to a *triumvirate* of as humble ſervants and true admirers of your lordſhip, as any you have in both iſlands. You may call them a *triumvirate*; for, if you pleaſe to *try-um*, they will *vie* with the beſt, and are of the firſt *rate*, though they are not *men of war*, but men of the church. To ſay the truth, it was a pity your lordſhip ſhould be confined to the *Fleet*, when you are not in debt. Though your lordſhip is *caſt away*, you are not *ſunk*; nor ever will be, ſince nothing is out of your lordſhip's *depth*. Dr. Aſhe ſays, it is but juſtice that your lordſhip, who is a man of *letters*, ſhould be placed upon the *poſt-office*; and my lord biſhop adds, that he hopes to ſee your lordſhip toſt from that *poſt* to be a *pillar* of ſtate again; which he deſired I would put in by way of *poſtſcript*. I am, my lord, &c.

A Letter to the EARL of PEMBROKE; Pretended to be the Dying Speech of Tom Aſhe, whoſe brother, the Reverend Dillon Aſhe, was nick-named Dilly *.

[Given to Dr. Monſey by Sir Andrew Fountaine; and communicated to the Editor of theſe Volumes by that ingenious, learned, and very obliging gentleman.]

TOM ASHE died laſt night. It is conceived he was ſo puffed up by my lord lieutenant's *favour*, that it ſtruck him into a *fever*.

* Thomas Aſhe, Eſq. deſcended from an antient family of that name in Wikſhire, was a gentleman of fortune in Ireland. He was a facetious pleaſant companion, but the moſt eternal unwearied punſter that ever lived. He was thick and ſhort in his perſon, being not above five feet high at the moſt, and had ſomething very droll in his appearance. He died about the year 1719, and left his whole eſtate, of about a thouſand pounds a year, to his intimate friend and kinſman Richard Aſhe, of Aſhefield, Eſq. There is a whimſical ſtory, and a very true one, of Tom Aſhe, which is well remembered to this day. It happened, that, while he was travelling on horſe-back, and at a conſiderable diſtance from any town, there burſt from the clouds ſuch a torrent of rain as wetted him through. He galloped forward; and, as ſoon as he came to an inn, he was met inſtantly by a drawer: "Here," ſaid he to the fellow, ſtretching out one of his arms, "Take "off my coat immediately." "No, Sir, I won't," ſaid the drawer. "Pox confound you," ſaid Aſhe, "take off my coat this inſtant." "No, Sir (replied the drawer) I dare not take off your coat; for it is "felony to ſtrip an Aſh." Tom was delighted beyond meaſure, frequently told the ſtory, and ſaid he would have given fifty guineas to have been the author of that pun. This little tract of Dr. Swift's, intituled, "The Dying Words of Tom Aſhe," was written ſeveral years before the deceaſe of Tom, and was merely deſigned to exhibit the manner in which ſuch an eternal punſter might have expreſſed himſelf on his death-bed.

I here ſend you his dying ſpeech, as it was exactly taken by a friend in ſhort-hand. It is ſomething long, and a little incoherent; but he was ſeveral hours delivering it, and with ſeveral intervals. His friends were about the bed, and he ſpoke to them thus:

"MY FRIENDS,

It is time for a man to look *grave*, when he has one foot there. I once had only a *pun*nic fear of death; but of late I have *pun*dred it more ſeriouſly. Every fit of *coffing* hath put me in mind of my *coffin*; though *diſſolute* men ſeldomeſt think of *diſſolution*. This is a very great alteration: I, that ſupported myſelf with good *wine*, muſt now be myſelf ſupported by a *ſmall bier*. A fortune-teller once looked on my hand, and ſaid, This man is to be a great traveller; he will ſoon be at the *Diet* of *Worms*, and from thence go to *Ratiſbone*. But now I underſtand his double meaning. I deſire to be privately *buried*, for I think a public funeral looks like *Bury* fair; and the *rites* of the dead too often prove *wrong* to the living. Methinks the word itſelf beſt expreſſes the number, neither *few nor all*. A dying man ſhould not think of *obſequies*, but *ob ſe quies*. Little did I think you would ſo ſoon ſee poor *Tom ſtown* under a *tomb-ſtone*. But as the *mole* crumbles the *mold* about her, ſo a man of ſmall *mold*, before I am *old*, may *molder* away. Sometimes I've *rav'd* that I ſhould *re*vive; but phyſicians tell me, that, when once the great *ar-*

tery has drawn the *heart awry*, we ſhall find the *cor di all*, in ſpite of all the higheſt *cordial*.—Brother, you are fond of *Daffy's* elixir; but, when death comes, the world will ſee that, in ſpite of *Daffy*, *down Dilly* *. Whatever doctors *may deſign* by their *medicines*, a man in a *dropſy drops he* not, in ſpite of Goddard's *drops*, though none are reckoned ſuch *high drops?*—I find death ſmells the blood of an Engliſhman: a *fee* faintly *fum*bled out will be a weak defence againſt his *fee-fa-fum*. *P. T.* are no letters in death's *alphabet*; he has not *half a bit* of either: he moves his *ſithe*, but will not be moved by all our *ſighs*. Every thing ought to put us in mind of death: Phyſicians affirm, that our very food breeds it in us; ſo that, in our *dieting*, we may be ſaid to *di eating*. There is ſomething ominous, not only in the names of diſeaſes, as *di*-arrhæa, *di*-abetes, *di*-ſentery; but even in the drugs deſigned to preſerve our lives; as *di*-acodium, *di*-apente, *di*-aſcordium. I perceive Dr. *Howard* (and I feel *how hard*) *lay thumb* on my *pulſe*, then *pulls* it back, as if he ſaw *lethum* in my face. I ſee as bad in his; for ſure there is no *phyſic* like a *ſick phiz*. He thinks I ſhall *deceaſe* before the *day ceaſe*; but, before I die, before the bell hath *toll'd*, and *Tom Tollman* is *told* that little *Tom*, though not *old*, has paid nature's *toll*, I do deſire to give ſome advice to thoſe that ſurvive me. Firſt, Let gameſters conſider that death is *hazard*

* A nickname of Tom Aſhe's brother.

and

and *paſſage*, upon the turn of a *die*. Let lawyers conſider it is a hard *caſe*. And let punners conſider how hard it is to *die jeſting*, when death is ſo hard in *digeſting*.

As for my lord-lieutenant the earl of *Mungomerry*, I am ſure he *be-wales* my misfortune; and it would move him to ſtand by, when the carpenter (while my friends grieve and make an *odd ſplutter*) *nails* up my coffin. I will make a ſhort *affida-vi-t*, that, if he makes my *epitaph*, *I* will take it for a great honour; and it is a plentiful ſubject. His excellency may ſay, that the art of punning is dead with *Tom*. *Tom* has taken all puns away with him. *Omne tulit pun-Tom.*—May his excellency long *live tenant* to the queen in Ireland! We never *Herberd* ſo good a governor before. Sure he *mun-go-merry* home, that has made a kingdom ſo happy. I hear, my friends deſign to publiſh a collection of my puns. Now I do confeſs, I have let many a *pun go*, which did never *pungo*; therefore the world muſt read the bad as well as the good. Virgil has long foretold it: *Punica mala leges*. I have had ſeveral forebodings that I ſhould ſoon die; I have of late been often at committees, where I have ſat de *die* in *diem*. I converſed much with the *uſher* of the *black rod*: I ſaw his *medals*; and woe is *me dull ſoul*, not to conſider they are but dead mens faces *ſtampt over* and *over* by the living, which will ſhortly be my condition.

Tell Sir *Andrew Fountaine*, I *ran* clear to the *bottom*, and wiſh he may be a late *a river* where

I am going. He uſed to *brook* compliments. May his ſand be long a *running*; not *quick ſand*, like mine! Bid him avoid *poring* upon monuments and books; which is in reality but *running* among *rocks* and *ſhelves*, to *ſtop* his *courſe*. May his *waters* never be *troubled* with *mud* or *gravel*, nor *ſtopt* by any *grinding ſtone!* May his friends be all true *trouts*, and his enemies laid as flat as *flounders!* I look upon him as the moſt *fluent* of his *race*; therefore let him not deſpond. I foreſee his black *rod* will *advance* to a *pike*, and deſtroy all our *ills*.

But I am going; my *wind in* lungs is turning to a *winding* ſheet. The thoughts of *a pall* begin to *apall* me. Life is but a *vapour*, car elle *va pour* la moindre cauſe. Farewell: I have lived ad amicorum *faſtidium*, and now behold how *faſt I di um!*"

Here his breath failed him, and he expired. There are ſome falſe ſpellings here and there; but they muſt be pardoned in a dying man.

A Let-

A Letter to the KING AT ARMS.

[From a reputed ESQUIRE,
One of the Subſcribers to the Bank.]

SIR, November 28, 1721.

IN a late printed paper, containing ſome notes and queries upon that liſt of the ſubſcribers names which was publiſhed by order of the commiſſioners for receiving ſubſcriptions, I find ſome hints and innuendos that would ſeem to inſinuate, as if I and ſome others were only reputed eſquires; and our caſe is referred to you, in your kingly capacity. I deſire you will pleaſe to let me know the loweſt price of a real eſquire's coat of arms: and if we can agree, I will give my bond to pay you out of the firſt intereſt I receive for my ſubſcription; becauſe things are a little low with me at preſent, by throwing my whole fortune into the bank, having ſubſcribed for five hundred pounds ſterling.

I hope you will not queſtion my pretenſions to this title, when I let you know that my godfather was a juſtice of peace, and I myſelf have been often a keeper of it. My father was a leader and commander of horſe, in which poſt he rode before the greateſt lords of the land; and, in long marches, he alone preſided over the baggage, advancing directly before it. My mother kept open

houſe

houſe in Dublin, where ſeveral hundreds were ſupported with meat and drink, bought at her own charge, or with her perſonal credit, until ſome envious brewers and butchers forced her to retire.

As to myſelf, I have been for ſeveral years a foot officer; and it was my charge to guard the carriages, behind which I was commanded to ſtick cloſe, that they might not be attacked in the rear. I have had the honour to be a favourite of ſeveral fine ladies; who each of them, at different times, gave me ſuch coloured knots and public marks of diſtinction, that every one knew which of them it was to whom I paid my addreſs. They would not go into their coach without me, nor willingly drink unleſs I gave them the glaſs with my own hand. They allowed me to call them my miſtreſſes, and owned that title publicly. I have been told, that the true ancient employment of a ſquire was to carry a knight's ſhield, painted with his colours and coat of arms. This is what I have witneſſes to produce that I have often done; not indeed in a ſhield, like my predeceſſors, but that which is full as good, I have carried the colours of a knight upon my coat. I have likewiſe borne the king's arms in my hand, as a mark of authority; and hung them painted before my dwelling-houſe, as a mark of my calling: ſo that I may truly ſay, his majeſty's arms have been my ſupporters. I have been a ſtrict and conſtant follower of men of quality. I have

diligently purſued the ſteps of ſeveral ſquires, and am able to behave myſelf as well as the beſt of them, whenever there ſhall be occaſion.

I deſire it may be no diſadvantage to me, that, by the new act of parliament going to paſs for preſerving the game, I am not yet qualified to keep a greyhound. If this ſhould be the teſt of ſquirehood, it will go hard with a great number of my fraternity, as well as myſelf, who muſt all be unſquired, becauſe a greyhound will not be allowed to keep us company; and it is well known I have been a companion to his betters. What has a greyhound to do with a ſquireſhip? might not I be a real ſquire, although there was no ſuch thing as a greyhound in the world? Pray tell me, ſir, are greyhounds to be from henceforth the ſupporters of every ſquire's coat of arms? although I cannot keep a greyhound, may not a greyhound help to keep me? may not I have an order from the governors of the bank to keep a greyhound, with a *non obſtante* to the act of parliament, as well as they have created a bank againſt the votes of the two houſes? but, however, this difficulty will ſoon be overcome. I am promiſed 125*l.* a year for ſubſcribing 500*l.*; and, of this 500*l.* I am to pay in only 25*l.* ready money: the governors will truſt me for the reſt, and pay themſelves out of the intereſt by 25*l. per cent.* So that I intend to receive only 40*l.* a year, to qualify me for keeping my family and a grey-

greyhound, and let the remaining 85*l.* go on till it makes 500*l.* then 1000*l.* then 10,000*l.* then 100,0000*l.* then a million, and ſo forwards. This, I think, is much better (betwixt you and me) than keeping fairs, and buying and ſelling bullocks; by which I find, from experience, that little is to be gotten in theſe hard times. I am, Sir,

Your friend, and ſervant to command,

A. B. Esquire.

Poſtſcript. I hope you will favourably repreſent my caſe to the publiſher of the paper above mentioned.

Direct your letter for A. B. Eſquire at ——, in ——; and, pray, get ſome parliament-man to frank it, for it will coſt a groat poſtage to this place.

A Let-

A Letter to Mrs. Susannah Neville *.

MADAM, June 24, 1732.

WILL not trouble you with any grave *topicks*, leſt I ſhould *diſcarmode* you; but rather write a *familiar* and *jocoſious* way.

You muſt know then, I was the other night at s. Tattle's, and Mrs. Rattle came in to drink e *jocklit* with us, upon which they fell into a *giment* about the beſt *muſicioners* in town. At , Rattle told Tattle, that ſhe did not know *difrence* between a ſong and a *sympany*. They e going to *defer* the matter to me; but I ſaid t, when people diſputed, it was my way always ſtand *muter*. You would have thought they e both *intoſticated* with liquor, if you had ſeen m ſo full of outrageouſneſs. However, Mrs. tle, as being a very *timberſome* woman, yielded Rattle, and there was an end of the *diſputement*. onder you do not honour me ſometimes with r company. If I myſelf be no *introducement*, garden, which has a fine *ruval* look, ought e one. My Tommy would be glad to ſee you ore he goes for England, and ſo would I; for n reſolved to take the *tower* of London before I rn. We intend to go to Norfolk or Suffolk, ee a clergyman, a near couſin of ours. They

* This letter is fictitious, and was written by Dr. Sheridan.

ſay

ſay that he is an *admiral* good man, and very *horſpital* in his own houſe. I am *determ'd*, when this *vege* is over, never to ſet my foot in a ſtage-coach again; for the jolting of it has put my blood into ſuch a *firmament*, that I have been in an *ego* ever ſince, and have loſt my *nappetite* to ſuch a degree that I have not eaten a *manſion* of bread put all together theſe ſix weeks paſt. They allow me to eat nothing at night but *blanchius manſhius*, which has made a perfect *notomy* of me; and my ſpirits are ſo *extorted*, that I am in a perfect *liturgy*; for which I am reſolved to take ſome *rubrick*, although the doctors adviſe me to drink *burgomy*. And what do you think? when I went to my cellar for a flaſk, I found that my ſervants had *imbelliſhed* it all: for which I am reſolved to give them ſome *hippocockeny* to bring it up again.—I fear that I have been too *turbulent* in this long and tedious *crawl*; which I hope you will excuſe from, your very humble ſervant,

MARY HOWE.

On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland.

SIR,

HAVE been lately looking over the adver-tiſements in ſome of your Dublin news-papers, ich are ſent me to the country; and was much ertained with a large liſt of denominations of ds, to be ſold or let. I am confident they muſt genuine; for it is impoſſible that either chance, modern invention, could ſort the alphabet in h a manner, as to make thoſe abominable nds; whether firſt invented to invoke or fright ay the Devil, I muſt leave among the curious. If I could wonder at any thing barbarous, ridi-ous, or abſurd among us, this ſhould be one the firſt. I have often lamented that Agricola, father-in-law of Tacitus, was not prevailed on that petty king from Ireland, who followed camp, to come over and civilize us with a queſt, as his countrymen did Britain, where eral Roman appellations remain to this day; d ſo would the reſt have done, if that inunda-n of Angles, Saxons, and other northern people d not changed them ſo much for the worſe, al-ough in no compariſon with ours. In one of advertiſements juſt mentioned, I encountered ar a hundred words together, which I defy any ature in human ſhape, except an Iriſhman of e ſavage kind, to pronounce; neither would I under-

undertake ſuch a taſk, to be owner of the lands, unleſs I had liberty to humanize the ſyllables twenty miles round. The legiſlature may think what they pleaſe, and that they are above copying the Romans in all their conqueſts of barbarous nations; but I am deceived, if any thing has more contributed to prevent the Iriſh from being tamed, than this encouragement of their language, which might be eaſily aboliſhed and become a dead one in half an age, with little expence, and leſs trouble.

How is it poſſible that a gentleman, who lives in thoſe parts where the *town-lands* (as they call them) of his eſtate produce ſuch odious ſounds from the mouth, the throat, and the noſe, can be able to repeat the words without diſlocating every muſcle that is uſed in ſpeaking, and without applying the ſame tone to all other words, in every language he underſtands: as it is plainly to be obſerved, not only in thoſe people, of the better ſort, who live in Gallway and the Weſtern parts, but in moſt counties of Ireland?

It is true, that in the city-part of London, the trading people have an affected manner of pronouncing; and ſo, in my time, had many ladies and coxcombs at court. It is likewiſe true, that there is an odd provincial cant in moſt counties in England, ſometimes not very pleaſing to the ear; and the Scotch cadence, as well as expreſſion, are offenſive enough. But none of theſe defects derive contempt to the ſpeaker; whereas, what we call the

the *Iriſh brogue* is no ſooner diſcovered, than it makes the deliverer, in the laſt degree, ridiculous and deſpiſed; and, from ſuch a mouth, an Engliſhman expects nothing but bulls, blunders, and follies. Neither does it avail whether the cenſure be reaſonable or not, ſince the fact is always ſo. And, what is yet worſe, it is too well known, that the bad conſequence of this opinion affects thoſe among us who are not the leaſt liable to ſuch reproaches, farther than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of Engliſh parents, and whoſe education has been chiefly in that kingdom.

I have heard many gentlemen among us talk much of the great convenience to thoſe who live in the country, that they ſhould ſpeak Iriſh. It may poſſibly be ſo: but, I think, they ſhould be ſuch who never intend to viſit England, upon pain of being ridiculous; for I do not remember to have heard of any one man that ſpoke Iriſh, who had not the accent upon his tongue eaſily diſcernible to any Engliſh ear.

But I have wandered a little from my ſubject, which was only to propoſe a wiſh, that theſe execrable denominations were a little better ſuited to an Engliſh mouth, if it were only for the ſake of the Engliſh lawyers; who, in trials upon appeals to the Houſe of Lords, find ſo much difficulty in repeating the names, that if the plaintiff or defendant were by, they would never be able to diſcover which were their own lands. But, beſide

this, I would deſire, not only that the appellations of what they call *town-lands* were changed, but likewiſe of larger diſtricts, and ſeveral towns, and ſome counties; and particularly the ſeats of country-gentlemen, leaving an *alias* to ſolve all difficulties in point of law. But I would by no means truſt theſe alterations to the owners themſelves; who, as they are generally no great clerks, ſo they ſeem to have no large vocabulary about them, nor to be well ſkilled in proſody. The utmoſt extent of their genius lies in naming their country-habitation by a hill, a mount, a brook, a burrow, a caſtle, a bawn, a ford, and the like ingenious conceits. Yet theſe are exceeded by others, whereof ſome have continued anagrammatical appellations, from half their own and their wives names joined together: others only from the lady; as, for inſtance, a perſon, whoſe wife's name was Elizabeth, calls his ſeat by the name of *Beſs-borow*. There is likewiſe a famous town, where the worſt iron in the kingdom is made, and it is called *Swandlingbar*. The original of which name I ſhall explain, leſt the antiquaries of future ages might be at a loſs to derive it. It was a moſt witty conceit of four gentlemen, who ruined themſelves with this iron-project. *Sw.* ſtands for *Swift*, *And.* for *Sanders*, *Ling.* for *Darling*, and *Bar.* for *Barry*. Methinks I ſee the four logger-heads, ſitting in conſult, like *Smectymnuus*, each gravely contributing a part of his own name, to make up one for their place in the iron-work; and could wiſh they had been hanged,

hanged, as well as undone, for their wit. But I was moſt pleaſed with the denomination of a town-land, which I lately ſaw in an advertiſement of Pue's paper: "This is to give notice, that the "lands of *Douras*, *alias* WHIG-*borough*, &c." Now this zealous proprietor, having a mind to record his principles in religion or loyalty to future ages, within five miles round him, for want of other merit, thought fit to make uſe of this expedient; wherein he ſeems to miſtake his account: for this diſtinguiſhing term Whig had a moſt infamous original, denoting a man who favoured the fanatic ſect, and an enemy to kings, and ſo continued till the idea was a little ſoftened, ſome years after the Revolution, and during a part of her late majeſty's reign. After which it was in diſgrace until the queen's death, ſince which time it has indeed flouriſhed with a witneſs: but how long it will continue ſo, in our variable ſcene, or what kind of mortal it may deſcribe, is a queſtion which this courtly landlord is not able to anſwer. And therefore he ſhould have ſet a date on the title of his borough, to let us know what kind of creature a Whig was in that year of our LORD. I would readily aſſiſt nomenclators of this coſtive imagination; and therefore I propoſe, to others of the ſame ſize in thinking, that, when they are at a loſs about chriſtening a country-ſeat, inſtead of ſtraining their invention, they would call it *Booby-borough*, *Fool-brook*, *Puppy-ford*, *Coxcomb-hall*, *Mount-loggerhead*, *Dunce-hill*; which are innocent appella-

tions, proper to expreſs the talents of the owners. But I cannot reconcile myſelf to the prudence of this lord of WHIG-*borough*, becauſe I have not yet heard, among the Preſbyterian ſquires, how much ſoever their perſons and principles are in vogue, that any of them have diſtinguiſhed their country-abode by the name of *Mount-regicide*, *Covenant-hall*, *Fanatic-hill*, *Roundhead-bawn*, *Canting-brook*, or *Mount-rebel*, and the like: becauſe there may poſſibly come a time when thoſe kind of ſounds may not be ſo grateful to the ears of the kingdom. For I do not conceive it would be a mark of diſcretion, upon ſuppoſing a gentleman, in alluſion to his name, or the merit of his anceſtors, to call his houſe *Tyburn-hall*.

But the ſcheme I would propoſe, for changing the denominations of land into legible and audible ſyllables, is by employing ſome gentlemen in the univerſity; who, by the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and their judgement in ſounds, might imitate the Roman way, by tranſlating thoſe hideous words into their Engliſh meanings, and altering the termination, where a bare tranſlation will not form a good cadence to the ear, or be eaſily delivered from the mouth. And when both theſe means happen to fail, then to name the parcels of land from the nature of the ſoil, or ſome peculiar circumſtance belonging to it; as, in England, *Farn-ham*, *Oat-lands*, *Black-heath*, *Corn-bury*, *Rye-gate*, *Aſh-burnham*, *Barn-elms*, *Cole-orton*, *Sand-wich*, and many others.

I am

I am likewiſe apt to quarrel with ſome titles of lords among us, that have a very ungracious ſound, which are apt to communicate mean ideas to thoſe who have not the honour to be acquainted with their perſons or their virtues, of whom I have the misfortune to be one. But I cannot pardon thoſe gentlemen, who have gotten titles ſince the judicature of the peers among us has been taken away, to which they all ſubmitted with a reſignation that became good Chriſtians, as undoubtedly they are. However, ſince that time, I look upon a graceful harmonious title to be at leaſt forty *per cent.* in the value intrinſic of an Iriſh peerage: and, ſince it is as cheap as the worſt, for any Iriſh law hitherto enacted in England to the contrary, I would adviſe the next ſet, before they paſs their patents, to call a conſultation of ſcholars and muſical gentlemen, to adjuſt this moſt important and eſſential circumſtance. The Scotch noblemen, though born almoſt under the North Pole, have much more tuneable appellations, except ſome very few, which, I ſuppoſe, were given them by the Iriſh, along with their language, at the time when that kingdom was conquered and planted from hence; and, to this day, retain the denominations of places, and ſurnames of families, as all hiſtorians agree.

I ſhould likewiſe not be ſorry, if the names of ſome biſhops ſees were ſo much obliged to the alphabet, that upon pronouncing them, we might

contract ſome veneration for the order and perſons of thoſe reverend peers, which the groſs ideas ſometimes joined to their titles are very unjuſtly apt to diminiſh.

UPON GIVING BADGES TO THE POOR.

Deanry-Houſe, Sept. 26, 1726.

THE continual concourſe of beggars, from all parts of the kingdom to this city, having made it impoſſible for the ſeveral pariſhes to maintain their own poor, according to the antient laws of the land; ſeveral lord mayors did apply themſelves to the lord archbiſhop of Dublin, that his grace would direct his clergy, and the church-wardens of the ſaid city, to appoint badges of braſs, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the ſeveral pariſhes. The badges to be marked with initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c. and to be well ſewed and faſtened on the right and left ſhoulder of the outward garment of each of the ſaid poor, by which they might be diſtinguiſhed. And that none of the ſaid poor ſhould go out of their own pariſh to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

His

His grace the lord archbiſhop did accordingly give his directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverſeneſs, or pride, of the ſaid poor; ſeveral of them openly proteſting, "they will never ſub-'mit to wear the ſaid badges." And of thoſe who received them, almoſt every one keep them in their pockets, or hang them in a ſtring about their necks, or faſten them under their coats, not to be ſeen; by which means the whole deſign is eluded; ſo that a man may walk from one end of the town to the other, without ſeeing one beggar regularly badged, and in ſuch great numbers, that they are a mighty nuiſance to the publick, moſt of them being foreigners.

It is therefore propoſed, that his grace the lord archbiſhop would pleaſe to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put the affair of badges effectually in practice, by ſuch methods as his grace and they ſhall agree upon. And, I think, it would be highly neceſſary, that ſome paper ſhould be paſted up, in ſeveral proper parts of the city, ſignifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms except to thoſe poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are within the precincts of their own pariſhes. And if ſomething like this were delivered by the miniſters, in the reading-deſk, two or three lord's-days ſucceſſively, it would ſtill be of farther uſe to put this matter upon a right foot. And that all who offend againſt this regulation be treated as vagabonds and ſturdy beg-

CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT MAINTAINING THE POOR.

WE have been amuſed, for at leaſt thirty years paſt, with numberleſs ſchemes, in writing and diſcourſe, both in and out of parliament, for maintaining the poor, and ſetting them to work, eſpecially in this city; moſt of which were idle, indigeſted, or viſionary; and all of them ineffectual, as it has plainly appeared by the conſequences. Many of thoſe projectors were ſo ſtupid, that they drew a parallel from Holland and England, to be ſettled in Ireland; that is to ſay, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the moſt beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of falſe and fooliſh reaſoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, ſeems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much converſed with thoſe folks who call themſelves merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong-thinking race of people in the very firſt rudiments of trade; which, however, was not ſo much owing to their want of capacity, as to the crazy conſtitution of this kingdom; where pedlars are better qualified to thrive, than the

wiſeſt

wiſeſt merchants. I could fill a volume with only ſetting down a liſt of the public abſurdities, by which this kingdom has ſuffered within the compaſs of my own memory, ſuch as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not eſtabliſhed as a law. I cannot forbear inſtancing a few of theſe, becauſe it may be of ſome uſe to thoſe who ſhall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

The firſt was, the building of the barracks, whereof I have ſeen above one half, and have heard enough of the reſt, to affirm that the publick has been cheated of at leaſt two thirds of the money, raiſed for that uſe, by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raiſed for the Palatines; when, inſtead of employing that great ſum in purchaſing lands in ſome remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting thoſe people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is, the inſurance-office againſt fire, by which ſeveral thouſand pounds are yearly remitted to England (a trifle, it ſeems, we can eaſily ſpare) and will gradually increaſe until it comes to a good national tax: for the ſociety-marks upon our houſes (under which might properly be written, "The Lord have mercy upon us") ſpread faſter and farther than the * colony of frogs. I have

* This ſimilitude, which is certainly the fineſt that could poſſibly have been uſed upon this occaſion, ſeems to require a ſhort explication. About

have for above twenty years paſt, given warning ſeveral thouſand times, to many ſubſtantial people, and to ſuch who are acquainted with lords and ſquires, and the like great folks, to any of whom I have not the honour to be known: I mentioned my daily fears, leſt our watchful friends in England might take this buſineſs out of our hands; and how eaſy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a ſociety of perſons who had good eſtates, ſuch, for inſtance, as that noble knot of bankers under the ſtyle of "Swift and Company." But now we are become tributary to England, not only for materials to light our own fires; but for engines to put them out; to which, if hearth-money be added, (repealed in England as a grievance) we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was, the knavery of thoſe merchants, or linen manufacturers, or both; when, upon occaſion of the plague at Marſeilles, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade with Spain; but the commodity was ſo bad, and held at ſo high a rate, that almoſt the

About the beginning of this current century, Dr. Gwythers, a phyſician, and Fellow of the Univerſity of Dublin, brought over with him a parcel of frogs from England to Ireland, in order to propagate the ſpecies in that kingdom, and threw them into the ditches of the Univerſity-park; but they all periſhed. Whereupon he ſent to England for ſome bottles of the frog-ſpawn, which he threw into thoſe ditches, by which means the ſpecies of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was ſo ſmall in the year 1720, that a frog was no where to be ſeen in Ireland, except in the neighbourhood of the Univerſity-park: but, within ſix or ſeven years after, they ſpread thirty, forty, or fifty miles over the country; and ſo at laſt, by degrees, over the whole nation.

whole

vhole cargo was returned, and the ſmall remainder ſold below the prime coſt.

So many other particulars of the ſame nature rowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to ſtop ; nd the rather becauſe they are not very proper for ny ſubject, to which I ſhall now return.

Among all the ſchemes for maintaining the poor of the city, and ſetting them to work, the leaſt weight has been laid upon that ſingle point which is of greateſt importance; I mean, that of keeping foreign beggars from ſwarming hither, out of every part of the country; for, until this be brought to paſs effectually, all our wiſe reaſonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to ſo ſmall a number of people, is owing to many reaſons: to the lazineſs of the natives; the want of work to employ them; the enormous rents paid by cottagers for their miſerable cabbins and potatoe-plots; their early marriages, without the leaſt proſpect of eſtabliſhment; the ruin of agriculture, whereby ſuch vaſt numbers are hindered from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchaſe it; the mortal damp upon all kind of trade, and many other circumſtances too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the ſame cauſes we owe, the perpetual concourſe of foreign beggars to this town; the country landlords giving all aſſiſtance, except money and victuals, to drive from their eſtates, thoſe miſerable creatures they have undone.

It

It was a general complaint againſt the poor-houſe, under its former governors, "That the "number of poor in this city did not leſſen by "taking three hundred into the houſe, and all of "them recommended under the miniſter and "churchwardens hands of the ſeveral pariſhes:" and this complaint muſt ſtill continue, although the poor-houſe ſhould be enlarged to maintain three thouſand, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-houſe, as it is now eſtabliſhed, amount to about two thouſand pounds a year; whereof, two hundred allowed for officers and one hundred for repairs, the remaining ſeventeen hundred, at four pounds a head, will ſupport four hundred and twenty-five perſons. This is a favourable allowance, conſidering that I ſubtract nothing for the diet of thoſe officers, and for wear and tear of furniture; and if every one of theſe collegiates ſhould be ſet to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one fourth part of their maintenance.

At the ſame time, the oratorial part of theſe gentlemen, ſeldom vouchſafe to mention fewer than fifteen hundred or two thouſand people, to be maintained in this hoſpital, without troubling their heads about the fund * * * * * * * *

TO HIS GRACE

WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of DUBLIN, &c.

The humble Repreſentation of the CLERGY of the City of DUBLIN.

MY LORD, Jan. 1724.

YOUR grace having been pleaſed to communicate to us a certain brief, by letters patent, for the relief of one Charles M'Carthy, whoſe houſe in College-green, Dublin, was burnt by an accidental fire; and having deſired us to conſider of the ſaid brief, and give our opinions thereof to your grace:

We the clergy of the city of Dublin, in compliance with your grace's deſire, and with great acknowledgements for your paternal tenderneſs towards us, having maturely conſidered the ſaid brief by letters patent, compared the ſeveral parts of it with what is enjoined us by the rubrick (which is confirmed by act of parliament) and conſulted perſons ſkilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of ourſelves and of the reſt of our brethren the clergy of the dioceſe of Dublin, moſt humbly repreſent to your grace:

Firſt, That by this brief, your grace is required and commanded, to recommend and command all the parſons, vicars, &c. to advance ſo great an act of charity.

We

We ſhall not preſume to determine how far your grace may be commanded by the ſaid brief: but we humbly conceive that the clergy of your dioceſe cannot, by any law now in being, be commanded by your grace to advance the ſaid act of charity, any otherwiſe than by reading the ſaid brief in our ſeveral churches, as preſcribed by the rubrick.

Secondly, Whereas it is ſaid in the ſaid brief, "That the parſons, vicars, &c. upon the firſt "Lord's-day, or opportunity, after the receipt of "the copy of the ſaid brief, ſhall, deliberately "and affectionately, publiſh and declare the tenor "thereof to his majeſty's ſubjects, and earneſtly "perſuade, exhort, and ſtir them up, to contri-"bute freely and chearfully towards the relief of "the ſaid ſufferer:"

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day except the lord's-day, or ſome ſolemn days legally appointed; neither is it poſſible for the ſtrongeſt conſtitution among us to obey this command (which includes no leſs than a whole ſermon) upon any other opportunity than when our people are met together in the church; and to perform this work in every houſe where the pariſhes are very populous, conſiſting ſometimes here in town of nine hundred or one thouſand houſes, would take up the ſpace of a year, although we ſhould preach in two families every day; and almoſt as much time in the country, where the pariſhes

are of large extent, the roads bad, and the people too poor to receive us and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that theſe exhortations are commanded to be made in the church, upon the Lord's-day; we are humbly of opinion, that it is left to the diſcretion of the clergy, to chooſe what ſubjects they think moſt proper to preach on, and at what times; and if they preach either falſe doctrines or ſeditious principles, they are liable to be puniſhed.

It may poſſibly happen that the ſufferer recommended may be a perſon not deſerving the favour intended by the brief; in which caſe no miniſter who knows the ſufferer to be an undeſerving perſon, can, with a ſafe conſcience, deliberately and affectionately publiſh the brief, much leſs earneſtly perſuade, exhort, and ſtir up the people to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of ſuch a ſufferer *.

Thirdly, Whereas, in the ſaid brief, the miniſters and curates are required, "on the week-days "next after the Lord's-day when the brief was "read, to go from houſe to houſe, with their "churchwardens, to aſk and receive from all per-"ſons the ſaid charity:" We cannot but obſerve here, that the ſaid miniſters are directly made collectors of the ſaid charity in conjunction with the churchwardens; which however, we preſume,

* This M'Carthy's houſe was burnt in the month of Auguſt 1723; and the univerſal opinion of mankind was, that M'Carthy himſelf was the perſon who ſet fire to the houſe.

was not intended, as being againſt all law and precedent: and therefore, we apprehend, there may be ſome inconſiſtency, which leaves us at a loſs how to proceed: for, in the next paragraph, the miniſters and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the churchwardens, or procure ſome other of the chief inhabitants to do the ſame. And in a following paragraph, the whole work ſeems left entirely to the churchwardens, who are required to uſe their utmoſt diligence to gather and collect the ſaid charity, and to pay the ſame, in ten days after, to the parſon, vicar, &c.

In anſwer to this we do repreſent to your grace our humble opinion, that neither we, nor our churchwardens, can be legally commanded or required to go from houſe to houſe, to receive the ſaid charity; becauſe your grace has informed us in your order, at your viſitation, A. D. 1712, "That neither we nor our churchwardens are "bound to make any collections for the poor, ſave "in the church;" which alſo appears plainly by the rubrick, that appoints both time and place, as your grace has obſerved in your ſaid order.

We do likewiſe aſſure your grace, that it is not in our power to procure ſome of the chief inhabitants of our pariſhes to accompany the churchwardens from houſe to houſe in theſe collections: and we have reaſon to believe that ſuch a propoſal made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often peers

of-

of the land) would be received in a manner very little to our own ſatisfaction, or to the advantage of the ſaid collections.

Fourthly, The brief does will, require, and command the biſhops, and all other dignitaries of the church, "that they make their contri-"butions diſtinctly, to be returned in the ſeveral "provinces to the ſeveral archbiſhops of the ſame."

Upon which we take leave to obſerve, that the terms of expreſſion here are of the ſtrongeſt kind, and in a point that may ſubject the ſaid dignitaries (for we ſhall ſay nothing of the biſhops) to great inconveniencies.

The ſaid dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions diſtinctly; by which it ſhould ſeem that they are abſolutely commanded to make contributions (for the word *diſtinctly* is but a circumſtance) and may be underſtood not very agreeable to a voluntary, chearful contribution. And therefore, if any biſhop or dignitary ſhould refuſe to make his contribution (perhaps for very good reaſons) he may be thought to incur the crime of diſobedience to his majeſty, which all good ſubjects abhor, when ſuch a command is according to law.

Moſt dignities of this kingdom conſiſt only of parochial tithes, and the dignitaries are miniſters of pariſhes. A doubt may therefore ariſe, whether the ſaid dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions in both capacities, diſtinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parſons or vicars.

Many dignities in this kingdom are the pooreſt kind of benefices; and it ſhould ſeem hard to put poor dignitaries under the neceſſity either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of expoſing themſelves to the cenſure of wanting charity, by making their contributions public.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to "let not our left-hand know what our right-"hand doth;" which cannot well conſiſt with our being willed, required, and commanded, by any earthly power, where no law is preſcribed, to publiſh our charity to the world, if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is ſaid, in the ſaid brief, "That the parſon, vicar, &c. of every pariſh, "ſhall, in ſix days after the receipt of the ſaid "charity, return it to his reſpective chancellor, "&c." This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expence, to the ſaid parſon, in remote and deſolate parts of the country; where often an honeſt meſſenger (if ſuch a one can be got) muſt be hired to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming; which will probably coſt more than the value of the contribution he carries with him. And this charge, if briefs ſhould happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We obſerve in the ſaid brief, that the provoſt and fellows of the univerſity, judges, officers of the court, and profeſſors of laws common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded,

manded, to make their contributions; but that ſo good a work is only recommended to them. Whereas we conceive, that all his majeſty's ſubjects are equally obliged, with or without his majeſty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power; and that the clergy, in their eccleſiaſtical capacity, are only liable to ſuch commands as the rubrick, or any other law, ſhall enjoin, being born to the ſame privileges of freedom with the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects.

We cannot but obſerve to your grace, that, in the Engliſh act of the fourth year of queen Anne, for the better collecting charity-money on briefs by letters patent, &c. the miniſters are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations; neither are they commanded to go from houſe to houſe with the churchwardens, nor to ſend the money collected to their reſpective chancellors, but pay it to the undertaker or agent of the ſufferer. So that, we humbly hope, the clergy of this kingdom ſhall not, without any law in being, be put to greater hardſhips in this caſe than their brethren in England; where the legiſlature, intending to prevent the abuſes in collecting charity-money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of thoſe difficulties we now complain of in the preſent brief by letters patent, for the relief of Charles M'Carthy aforeſaid.

The collections upon the Lord's-day are the principal ſupport of our own numerous poor in

our ſeveral pariſhes; and therefore every
brief, with the benefit of a full collection ove
whole kingdom, muſt deprive ſeveral thouſan
poor of their weekly maintenance, for the
only of one perſon, who often becomes a ſu
by his own folly or negligence, and is ſu
over-value his loſſes double or treble: ſo th
this precedent be followed, as it certainly w
the preſent brief ſhould ſucceed, we may pro
have a new brief every week; and thus, fr
advantage of fifty-two perſons, whereof no
in ten is deſerving, and for the intereſt of a
dexterous clerks and ſecretaries, the whole p
the kingdom will be likely to ſtarve.

We are credibly informed, that neither th
ficers of the lord primate in preparing the rep
his grace's opinion, nor thoſe of the great-
paſſing the patent for briefs, will remit a
their fees, both which do amount to a conſid
ſum: and thus the good intentions of we
poſed people are in a great meaſure diſappoin
large part of their charity being anticipate
alienated by fees and gratuities.

Laſtly, We cannot but repreſent to your
our great concern and grief, to ſee the pain
labour of our churchwardens ſo much inc
by the injunctions and commands put upon
in this brief, to the great diſadvantage of the
and the people, as well as to their own troub
mage, and loſs of time; to which, great ad
have been already made, by laws appointing

to collect the taxes for the watch and the poor-houſe, which they bear with great unwillingneſs; and if they ſhall find themſelves farther laden with ſuch briefs as this of M'Carthy, it will prove ſo great a diſcouragement, that we ſhall never be able to provide honeſt and ſufficient perſons for that weighty office of churchwarden, ſo neceſſary to the laity as well as the clergy, in all things that relate to the order and regulation of pariſhes.

Upon all theſe conſiderations, we humbly hope that your grace, of whoſe fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderneſs, we have had ſo many and great inſtances, will repreſent the caſe to his moſt excellent majeſty, or the chief governor in this kingdom, in ſuch a manner, that we may be neither under the neceſſity of declining his majeſty's commands in his letters patent, or of taking new and grievous burthens upon ourſelves and our churchwardens, to which neither the rubrick, nor any other law in force, obliges us to ſubmit.

OF THE EDUCATION OF LADIES.

THERE is a ſubject of controverſy which I have frequently met with, in mixed and ſelect companies of both ſexes, and ſometimes only of men; "Whether it be prudent to chooſe "a wife, who has good natural ſenſe, ſome taſte "of wit and humour, ſufficiently verſed in her "own natural language, able to read and to reliſh "hiſtory, books of travels, moral or entertaining "diſcourſes, and be a tolerable judge of the beau-"ties in poetry?" This queſtion is generally determined in the negative by the women themſelves, but almoſt univerſally by the men.

We muſt obſerve, that in this debate, thoſe whom we call men and women of faſhion are only to be underſtood, not merchants, tradeſmen, or others of ſuch occupations, who are not ſuppoſed to have ſhared in a liberal education. I except likewiſe all miniſters of ſtate during their power, lawyers and phyſicians in great practice, perſons in ſuch employments as take up the greater part of the day, and perhaps ſome other conditions of life which I cannot call to mind. Neither muſt I forget to except all gentlemen of the army, from the general to the enſign; becauſe thoſe qualifications abovementioned in a wife, are wholly out of their element and comprehenſion; together with all mathematicians, and gentlemen

overs of muſick, metaphyſicians, virtuoſi, and great talkers, who have all amuſements enough of their own. All theſe put together will amount to a great number of adverſaries, whom I ſhall have no occaſion to encounter, becauſe I am already of their ſentiments. Thoſe perſons whom I mean to include are the bulk of lords, knights, and ſquires, throughout England, whether they reſide between the town and country, or generally in either. I do alſo include thoſe of the clergy who have tolerably good preferments in London or any other parts of the kingdom.

The moſt material arguments that I have met with, on the negative ſide of this great queſtion, are what I ſhall now impartially report, in as ſtrong a light as I think they can bear.

It is argued, "That the great end of marriage 'is propagation: that conſequently, the princi-'pal buſineſs of a wife is to breed children, and 'to take care of them in their infancy: That the 'wife is to look on her family, watch over the 'ſervants, ſee that they do their work: That ſhe 'be abſent from her houſe as little as poſſible: 'That ſhe is anſwerable for every thing amiſs in 'her family: That ſhe is to obey all the lawful 'commands of her huſband; and viſit or be vi-'ſited by no perſons whom he diſapproves: 'That her whole buſineſs, if well performed, 'will take up moſt hours of the day: That the 'greater ſhe is, and the more ſervants ſhe keeps, 'her inſpection muſt increaſe accordingly; for,

" as a family repreſents a kingdom, ſo the wife,
" who is her huſband's firſt miniſter, muſt, under
" him, direct all the officers of ſtate, even to the
" loweſt; and report their behaviour to her huſ-
" band, as the firſt miniſter does to his prince:
" That ſuch a ſtation requires much time, and
" thought, and order; and, if well executed, leaves
" but little time for viſits or diverſions: That a
" humour of reading books, except thoſe of de-
" votion or houſewifery, is apt to turn a woman's
" brain: That plays, romances, novels, and love-
" poems, are only proper to inſtruct them how
" to carry on an intrigue: That all affectation of
" knowledge, beyond what is merely domeſtic,
" renders them vain, conceited, and pretending:
" That the natural levity of woman wants bal-
" laſt; and when ſhe once begins to think ſhe
" knows more than others of her ſex, ſhe will
" begin to deſpiſe her huſband, and grow fond
" of every coxcomb who pretends to any know-
" ledge in books: That ſhe will learn ſcholaſtic
" words; make herſelf ridiculous by pronouncing
" them wrong, and applying them abſurdly in all
" companies: That in the mean time, her houſe-
" hold affairs, and the care of her children, will
" be wholly laid aſide; her toilet will be crowded
" with all the under-wits, where the converſation
" will paſs in criticiſing on the laſt play or poem
" that comes out, and ſhe will be careful to re-
" member all the remarks that were made, in
" order to retail them in the next viſit, eſpecially
" in company who know nothing of the matter:

" That

"That ſhe will have all the impertinence of a "pedant, without the knowledge; and for every "new acquirement, will become ſo much the "worſe."

To ſay the truth, that ſhameful and almoſt univerſal neglect of good education among our nobility, gentry, and indeed among all others who are born to good eſtates, will make this eſſay of little uſe to the preſent age: for, conſidering the modern way of training up both ſexes in ignorance, idleneſs, and vice, it is of little conſequence how they are coupled together. And therefore my ſpeculations on this ſubject can be only of uſe to a ſmall number: for, in the preſent ſituation of the world, none but wiſe and good men can fail of miſſing their match, whenever they are diſpoſed to marry; and conſequently there is no reaſon for complaint on either ſide. The form by which a huſband and wife are to live, with regard to each other and to the world, are ſufficiently known and fixed, in direct contradiction to every precept of morality, religion, or civil inſtitution: it would be therefore an idle attempt to aim at breaking ſo firm an eſtabliſhment.

But, as it ſometimes happens, that an elder brother dies late enough to leave the younger at the univerſity, after he has made ſome progreſs in learning; if we ſuppoſe him to have a tolerable genius, and a deſire to improve it, he may conſequently learn to value and eſteem wiſdom and knowledge wherever he finds them, even after

ter his father's death, when his title and eſtate come into own his poſſeſſion. Of this kind, I reckon, by a favourable computation, there may poſſibly be found, by a ſtrict ſearch among the nobility and gentry throughout England, about five hundred. Among thoſe of all other callings or trades, who are able to maintain a ſon at the univerſity, about treble that number. The ſons of clergymen, bred to learning with any ſucceſs, muſt, by reaſon of their parents poverty, be very inconſiderable, many of them being only admitted ſervitors in colleges, and conſequently proving good for nothing: I ſhall therefore count them to be not above fourſcore. But, to avoid fractions, I ſhall ſuppoſe there may poſſibly be a round number of two thouſand male human creatures in England including Wales, who have a tolerable ſhare of reading and good ſenſe. I include in this liſt all perſons of ſuperior abilities, or great genius, or true judgement and taſte, or of profound literature, who, I am confident, we may reckon to be at leaſt five and twenty.

I am very glad to have this opportunity of doing an honour to my country, by a computation which I am afraid foreigners may conceive to be partial; when, out of only fifteen thouſand families of lords and eſtated gentlemen, which may probably be their number, I ſuppoſe one in thirty to be tolerably educated, with a ſufficient ſhare of good ſenſe. Perhaps the cenſure may be juſt. And therefore, upon cooler thoughts, to avoid all

cavils,

cavils, I ſhall reduce them to one thouſand, which, at leaſt, will be a number ſufficient to fill both houſes of parliament.

The daughters of great and rich families, computed after the ſame manner, will hardly amount to above half the number of the male: becauſe the care of their education is either left entirely to their mothers, or they are ſent to boarding-ſchools, or put into the hands of Engliſh or French governeſſes, and generally the worſt that can be gotten for money. So that, after the reduction I was compelled to, from two thouſand to one, half the number of well-educated nobility and gentry muſt eitheir continue in a ſingle life, or be forced to couple themſelves with women for whom they can poſſibly have no eſteem; I mean fools, prudes, coquettes, gameſters, ſaunterers, endleſs talkers of nonſenſe, ſplenetic idlers, intriguers, given to ſcandal and cenſure, * *

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DISCOURSE

TO PROVE

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE;

Shewing, from various Inſtances, that HEBREW, GREEK, and LATIN, were derived from the ENGLISH.

DURING the reign of parties for about forty years paſt, it is a melancholy conſideration to obſerve how Philology has been neglected, which was before the darling employment of the greateſt authors, from the reſtoration of learning in Europe. Neither do I remember it to have been cultivated, ſince the Revolution, by any one perſon, with great ſucceſs, except our illuſtrious modern ſtar, Doctor Richard Bentley, with whom the republick of learning muſt expire; as mathematicks did with Sir Iſaac Newton. My ambition has been gradually attempting, from my early youth, to be the holder of a ruſh-light before that great luminary; which, at leaſt, might be of ſome little uſe during thoſe ſhort intervals, while he

he was ſnuffing his candle, or peeping with it under a buſhel.

My preſent attempt is, to aſſert the antiquity of our Engliſh tongue; which, as I ſhall undertake to prove by invincible arguments, has varied very little for theſe two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-four years paſt. And my proofs will be drawn from etymology; wherein I ſhall uſe my readers much fairer than Pezro, Skinner, Verſtegan, Camden, and many other ſuperficial pretenders have done; for I will put no force upon the words, nor deſire any more favour than to allow for the uſual accidents of corruption, or the avoiding a cacophonia.

I think, I can make it manifeſt to all impartial readers, that our language, as we now ſpeak it, was originally the ſame with thoſe of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans, however corrupted in ſucceeding times by a mixture of barbariſms. I ſhall only produce at preſent, two inſtances among a thouſand from the Latin tongue. *Cloaca*, which they interpret a *neceſſary-houſe*, is altogether an Engliſh word; the laſt letter *a* being, by the miſtake of ſome ſcribe, transferred from the beginning to the end of the word. In the primitive orthography, it is called *a cloac*, which had the ſame ſignification; and ſtill continues ſo at Edinburgh in Scotland, where a man in a *cloac*, or cloak, of large circumference and length, carrying a convenient veſſel under it, calls out, as he goes through the ſtreets, "Wha has need of me?"

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Whatever cuſtomer calls, the veſſel is placed in the corner of the ſtreet; the *cloac*, or a cloak, ſurrounds and covers him; and thus he is eaſed with decency and ſecrecy.

The ſecond inſtance is yet more remarkable. The Latin word *Turpis* ſignifies *naſty*, or *filthy*. Now this word *Turpis* is a plain compoſition of two Engliſh words; only, by a ſyncope, the laſt letter of the firſt ſyllable, which is *d*, is taken out of the middle, to prevent the jarring of three conſonants together: and theſe two Engliſh words expreſs the moſt unſeemly excrements that belong to man.

But although I could produce many other examples, equally convincing, that the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, originally ſpoke the ſame language which we do at preſent; yet I have choſen to confine myſelf chiefly to the proper-names of perſons, becauſe I conceive they will be of greater weight to confirm what I advance; the ground and reaſon of thoſe names being certainly owing to the nature, or ſome diſtinguiſhing action or quality in thoſe perſons, and conſequently expreſſed in the true antient language of the ſeveral people.

I will begin with the Grecians, among whom the moſt antient are the great leaders on both ſides in the ſiege of Troy; for it is plain, from Homer, that the Trojans ſpoke Greek as well as the Grecians. Of theſe latter, *Achilles* was the moſt valiant. This hero was of a reſtleſs unquiet nature,

ture, never giving himſelf any repoſe either in peace or war; and therefore, as Guy of Warwick was called a *kill-cow*, and another terrible man a *kill-devil*, ſo this general was called *A-kill-eaſe*, or deſtroyer of eaſe; and at length, by corruption, *Achilles*.

Hector, on the other ſide, was the braveſt among the Trojans. He had deſtroyed ſo many of the Greeks, by *hacking* and *tearing* them, that his ſoldiers, when they ſaw him fighting, would cry out, "Now the enemy will be *hackt*, now he will be *tore*." At laſt, by putting both words together, this appellation was given to their leader, under the name of *Hack-tore*; and, for the more commodious ſounding, *Hector*.

Diomede, another Grecian captain, had the boldneſs to fight with Venus, and wound her; whereupon the gooddeſs, in a rage, ordered her ſon Cupid to make this hero to be hated by all women, repeating it often that he ſhould *die a maid*; from whence, by a ſmall change in orthography, he was called *Diomede*. And it is to be obſerved, that the term *maiden-head* is frequently, at this very day, applied to perſons of either ſex.

Ajax was, in fame, the next Grecian general to Achilles. The derivation of his name from *A Jakes*, however aſſerted by great anthors, is, in my opinion, very unworthy both of them and of the hero himſelf. I have often wondered to ſee ſuch learned men miſtake in ſo clear a point. This hero is known to have been a moſt intemperate

rate liver, as it is uſual with ſoldiers; and, although he was not old, yet, by converſing with camp-ſtrollers, he had got pains in his bones, which he pretended to his friends were only *ageaches*; but they telling the ſtory about the army, as the vulgar always confound right pronunciation, he was afterwatds known by no other name than *Ajax*.

The next I ſhall mention is *Andromache*, the famous wife of Hector. Her father was a Scotch gentleman, of a noble family ſtill ſubſiſting in that antient kingdom. But, being a foreigner in Troy, to which city he led ſome of his countrymen in the defence of Priam, as Dictys Cretenſis learnedly obſerves; Hector fell in love with his daughter, and the father's name was *Andrew Mackay*. The young lady was called by the ſame name, only a little ſoftened to the Grecian accent.

Aſtyanax was the ſon of Hector and Andromache. When Troy was taken, this young prince had his head cut off, and his body thrown to ſwine. From this fatal accident he had his name; which has, by a peculiar good fortune, been preſerved entire, *A ſty, an ax*.

Mars may be mentioned among theſe, becauſe he fought againſt the Greeks. He was called the God of war; and is deſcribed as a ſwearing, ſwaggering companion, and a great giver of rude language. For, when he was angry, he would cry, "Kiſs *my a—ſe*, *My a—ſe* in a bandbox, *My a—ſe* all over:" which he repeated ſo commonly, that

that he got the appellation of *My a—ſe*; and by a common abbreviation, *M'ars*; from whence, by leaving out the mark of eliſion, *Mars*. And this is a common practice among us at preſent; as in the words *D'anvers*, *D'avenport*, *D'anby*, which are now written *Danvers*, *Davenport*, *Danby*, and many others.

The next is *Hercules*, otherwiſe called *Alcides*. Both theſe names are Engliſh, with little alteration; and deſcribe the principal qualities of that hero, who was diſtinguiſhed for being a ſlave to his miſtreſſes, and at the ſame time for his great ſtrength and courage. *Omphale*, his chief miſtreſs, uſed to call her lovers *her cullies*; and becauſe this hero was more and longer ſubject to her than any other, he was in a particular manner called the chief of *her cullies*: which, by an eaſy change, made the word *Hercules*. His other name *Alcides* was given him on account of his proweſs: for, in fight, he uſed to ſtrike on *all ſides*; and was allowed on *all ſides* to be the chief hero of his age. For one of which reaſons, he was called *All ſides*, or *Alcides*: but I am inclined to favour the former opinion.

A certain Grecian youth was a great imitator of Socrates; which that philoſopher obſerving, with much pleaſure, ſaid to his friends, "There is an "*Ape o' mine own days.*" After which the young man was called *Epaminondas*, and proved to be the moſt virtuous perſon, as well as the greateſt general of his age.

Ucalegon was a very obliging inn-keeper of Troy. When a gueſt was going to take horſe, the landlord took leave of him with this compliment, "Sir, I ſhall be glad to ſee *you call again.*" Strangers, who knew not his right name, caught his laſt words; and thus, by degrees, that appellation prevailed, and he was known by no other name even among his neighbours.

Hydra was a great ſerpent, which Hercules ſlew. His uſual outward garment was the *raw hyde* of a lion, and this he had on when he attacked the ſerpent; which, therefore, took its name from the ſkin: the modeſty of that hero devolving the honour of his victory upon the lion's ſkin, calling that enormous ſnake the *Hyde-raw* ſerpent.

Leda was the mother of Caſtor and Pollux; whom Jupiter embracing in the ſhape of a ſwan, ſhe laid a couple of eggs; and was therefore called *Laid a*, or *Leda.*

As to Jupiter himſelf, it is well known that the ſtatues and pictures of this Heathen God, in Roman Catholic countries, reſemble thoſe of St. *Peter*, and are often taken the one for the other. The reaſon is manifeſt: for, when the emperors had eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity, the Heathens were afraid of acknowledging their Heathen idols of the chief God, and pretended it was only a ſtatue of the *Jew Peter.* And thus the principal Heathen God came to be called by the antient Romans, with very little alteration, Jupiter.

The *Hamadryades* are repreſented by miſtaken antiquity as Nymphs of the groves. But the true

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account is this: They were women of Calabria, who dealt in bacon; and living near the ſea-ſide, uſed to pickle their bacon in ſalt-water, and then ſet it up to dry in the ſun. From whence they were properly called *Ham-a-dry-a-days*, and in proceſs of time, miſpelt *Hamadryades*.

Neptune, the god of the ſea, had his name from the *Tunes* ſung to him by the *Tritons*, upon their ſhells, every *neap* or *nep* tide. The word is come down to us almoſt uncorrupted, as well as that of *Tritons*, his ſervants; who, in order to pleaſe their maſter, uſed to *try* all *tones*, till they could hit upon that he liked.

Ariſtotle was a Peripatetic philoſpher, who uſed to inſtruct his ſcholars while he was walking. When the lads were come, he would *ariſe to tell* them what he thought proper; and was therefore called *Ariſe to tell*. But ſucceeding ages, who underſtood not this etymology, have, by an abſurd change, made it *Ariſtotle*.

Ariſtophanes was a *Greek* comedian, full of levity, and gave himſelf too much freedom; which made graver people not ſcruple to ſay, that he had a great deal of *airy ſtuff in his* writings: and theſe words, often repeated, made ſucceeding ages denominate him *Ariſtophanes*. Vide Roſin. Antiq. l. iv.

Alexander the Great was very fond of eggs roaſted in hot aſhes. As ſoon as his cooks heard he was come home to dinner or ſupper, they called aloud to their under-officers, *All eggs un-*

der the Grate: which, reapeated every day at noon and evening, made ſtrangers think it was that prince's real name, and therefore gave him no other; and poſterity has been ever ſince under the ſame deluſion.

Pygmalion was a perſon of very low ſtature, but great valour; which made his townſmen call him *Pygmy lion*: and ſo it ſhould be ſpelt; although the word has ſuffered leſs by tranſcribers than many others.

Archimedes was a moſt famous mathematician. His ſtudies required much ſilence and quiet: but his wife having ſeveral maids, they were always diſturbing him with their tattle or their buſineſs; which forced him to come out every now and then to the ſtair-head, and cry, "*Hark ye, maids*, if "you will not be quiet, I ſhall turn you out of "doors." He repeated theſe words, *Hark ye, maids*, ſo often, that the unlucky jades, when they found he was at his ſtudy, would ſay, "There is *Hark ye, maids*; let us ſpeak ſoftly." Thus the name went through the neighbourhood; and, at laſt, grew ſo general, that we are ignorant of that great man's true name to this day.

Strabo was a famous geographer; and to improve his knowledge, traveled over ſeveral countries, as the writers of his life inform us; who likewiſe add, that he affected great nicety and finery in his cloaths: from whence people took occaſion to call him the *Stray beau*; which future ages have pinned down upon him, very much to his diſhonour.

Pela-

Peloponneſus, that famous Grecian peninſula, got its name from a Greek colony in Aſia the Leſs; many of whom going for traffick thither, and finding that the inhabitants had but one well in the town of * * * *, from whence certain porters uſed to carry the water through the city in great pails, ſo heavy that they were often forced to ſet them down for eaſe; the tired porters, after they had ſet down the pails, and wanted to take them up again, would call for aſſiſtance to thoſe who were neareſt, in theſe words, *Pail up, and eaſe us.* The ſtranger Greeks, hearing theſe words repeated a thouſand times as they paſſed the ſtreet, thought the inhabitants were pronouncing the name of their country, which made the foreign Greeks call it *Peloponneſus*, a manifeſt corruption of *Pail up, and eaſe us.*

Having mentioned ſo many Grecians to prove my hypotheſis, I ſhall not tire the reader with producing an equal number of Romans, as I might eaſily do. Some few will be ſufficient.

Cæſar was the greateſt captain of that empire. The word ought to be ſpelt *Seiſer*, becauſe he ſeiſed on not only moſt of the known world, but even the liberties of his own country: ſo that a more proper appellation could not have been given him.

Cicero was a poor ſcholar in the univerſity of Athens, wherewith his enemies in Rome uſed to reproach him; and, as he paſſed the ſtreets, would call out, *O Ciſer Ciſer o!* A word ſtill uſed in Cambridge, and anſwers to a ſervitor in Oxford.

Anibal was a ſworn enemy of the Romans, and gained many glorious victories over them. This name appears, at firſt repeating, to be a metaphor drawn from tennis, expreſſing a ſkilful gameſter, who can take *any ball*; and is very juſtly applied to ſo renowned a commander. Navigators are led into a ſtrange miſtake upon this article. We have uſually in our fleet ſome large men of war, called the *Anibal* with great propriety, becauſe it is ſo ſtrong that it may defy *any ball* from a cannon. And ſuch is the deplorable ignorance of our ſeamen, that they miſcall it the *Honey-ball*.

Cartago was the moſt famous trading city in the world; where, in every ſtreet, there was many a *cart a going*, probably laden with merchants goods. See Alexander ab Alexandro, and Suidas upon the word *Cartago*.

The word *Roman* itſelf is perfectly Engliſh, like other words ending in *man* or *men*, as *Hangman*, *Drayman*, *Huntſman*, and ſeveral others. It was formerly ſpelt *Rowman*, which is the ſame with *Waterman*. And therefore, when we read of *Feſta* (or, as it is corruptly ſpelt, *Geſta*) *Romanorum*, it is to be underſtood of the rough manner of *jeſting* uſed by watermen; who, upon the ſides of rivers, would *row man or'um*. This I think is clear enough to convince the moſt incredulous.

Miſanthropus was the name of an ill-natured man, which he obtained by a cuſtom of catching a great number of *mice*, then ſhutting them up in

in a room, and throwing a cat among them. Upon which his fellow citizens called him *Mice and throw puſs.* The reader obſerves how much the orthography has been changed, without altering the ſound: but ſuch depravations we owe to the injury of time, and groſs ignorance of tranſcribers.

Among the antients, fortune-telling by the ſtars was a very beggarly trade. The profeſſors lay upon ſtraw, and their cabbins were covered with the ſame materials: whence every one who followed that myſtery was called *A ſtraw lodger*, or a lodger in ſtraw; but, in the new-fangled way of ſpelling, *Aſtrologer.*

It is remarkable that the very word *Dipthong* is wholly Engliſh. In former times, ſchool-boys were chaſtiſed with thongs faſtened at the head of a ſtick. It was obſerved that young lads were much puzzled with ſpelling and pronouncing words where two vowels came together, and were often corrected for their miſtakes in that point. Upon theſe occaſions the maſter would *dip* his *thongs* (as we now do rods) in p—, which made that difficult union of vowels to be called *Dipthong.*

Bucephalus, the famous horſe of Alexander, was ſo called becauſe there were many grooms employed about him, which *fellows* were always *buſy* in their office; and, becauſe the horſe had ſo many *buſy fellows* about him, it was natural for thoſe who went to the ſtable to ſay, "Let us go to the *buſy fellows*;" by which they meant, to ſee that prince's

horſe. And, in proceſs of time, theſe words were abſurdly applied to the animal itſelf, which was thenceforth ſtyled *Buſy-fellows*, and very improperly *Bucephalus*.

I ſhall now bring a few proofs of the ſame kind, to convince my readers that our Engliſh was well known to the Jews.

Moſes, the great leader of thoſe people out of Egypt, was in propriety of ſpeech called *mow ſeas*, becauſe he *mowed* the *ſeas* down in the middle, to make a path for the Iſraelites.

Abraham was a perſon of ſtrong bones and ſinews, and a firm walker, which made the people ſay, "He was a man (in the Scotch phraſe, "which comes neareſt to the old Saxon) of *a* "*bra ham*;" that is, of a brave ſtrong ham, from whence he acquired his name.

The man whom the Jews called Balam was a ſhepherd; who, by often crying *Ba* to his *lambs*, was therefore called *Baalamb*, or *Balam*.

Iſaac is nothing elſe but *Eyes ake*; becauſe the Talmudiſts report that the had a pain in his eyes. Vide Ben Gorion and the Targum on Geneſis.

Thus I have manifeſtly proved, that the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, ſpoke the language we now do in England; which is an honour to our country that I thought proper to ſet in a true light, and yet has not been done, as I have heard, by any other writer.

And thus I have ventured (perhaps too temerariouſly) to contribute my mite to the learned world; from

m whoſe candour, if I may hope to receive
ne approbation, it may probably give me en-
ıragement to proceed on ſome other ſpeculations,
ɔoſſible, of greater importance than what I now
er; and which have been the labour of many
ırs, as well as of conſtant watchings, that I
ght be uſeful to mankind, and particularly to
ne own country.

THE

THE

ANSWER

OF THE

Right Honourable W——M P——Y, Eſq;

TO THE

Right Honourable Sir R——T W——E *.

SIR, Oct. 15, 1730.

A PAMPHLET was lately ſent me, entitled, "A letter from the Right Honourable "Sir R. W. to the Right Honourable W. P. Eſq; "occaſioned by the late invectives on the King, her "Majeſty, and all the Royal Family." By theſe initial letters of our names, the world is to underſtand that you and I muſt be meant. Although the letter ſeems to require an anſwer, yet becauſe it appears to be written rather in the ſtyle and manner uſed by ſome of your penſioners, than your own, I ſhall allow you the liberty to think the ſame of this anſwer, and leave the publick to determine which of the two actors can better perſonate their principals. That frigid and fuſtian

* Written by Dr. Swift.

way

way of haranguing wherewith your repreſenter begins, continues, and ends his declamation, I ſhall leave to the criticks in eloquence and propriety to deſcant on; becauſe it adds nothing to the weight of your accuſations, nor will my defence be one grain the better by expoſing its puerilities.

I ſhall therefore only remark upon this particular, that the frauds and corruptions in moſt other arts and ſciences, as law, phyſick (I ſhall proceed no farther) are uſually much more plauſibly defended, than in that of politicks; whether it be, that, by a kind of fatality, the vindication of a corrupt miniſter is always left to the management of the meaneſt and moſt proſtitute writers; or whether it be, that the effects of a wicked or unſkilful adminiſtration, are more publick, viſible, pernicious and univerſal: Whereas the miſtakes in other ſciences are often matters that affect only ſpeculation; or at worſt, the bad conſequences fall upon few and private perſons. A nation is quickly ſenſible of the miſeries it feels, and little comforted by knowing what account it turns to by the wealth, the power, the honours conferred on thoſe who ſit at the helm, or the ſalaries paid to their pen-men; while the body of the people is ſunk into poverty and deſpair. A Frenchman in his wooden ſhoes, may, from the vanity of his nation, and the conſtitution of that government, conceive ſome imaginary pleaſure in boaſting the grandeur of his monarch, in the midſt of his own ſlavery: but a freeborn Engliſhman, with all his

his loyalty, can find little ſatisfaction at a miniſter overgrown in wealth and power, from the loweſt degree of want and contempt; when that power or wealth are drawn from the bowels and blood of the nation, for which every fellow ſubject is a ſufferer, except the great man himſelf, his family, and his penſioners. I mean ſuch a miniſter (if there has ever been ſuch a one) whoſe whole management has been a continued link of ignorance, blunders, and miſtakes in every article, beſide that of enriching and aggrandizing himſelf.

For theſe reaſons the faults of men, who are moſt truſted in publick buſineſs, are, of all others, the moſt difficult to be defended. A man may be perſuaded into a wrong opinion, wherein he has ſmall concern: but no oratory can have the power over a ſober man, againſt the conviction of his own ſenſes: and therefore, as I take it, the money thrown away on ſuch advocates, might be more prudently ſpared, and kept in ſuch a miniſter's own pocket, than laviſhed in hiring a corporation of pamphleteers to defend his conduct, and prove a kingdom to be flouriſhing in trade and wealth, which every particular ſubject (except thoſe few already excepted) can lawfully ſwear, and by dear experience knows, to be a falſhood.

Give me leave, noble Sir, in the way of argument, to ſuppoſe this to be your caſe; could you in good conſcience, or moral juſtice, chide your paper-advocates for their ill ſucceſs in perſuading the world againſt manifeſt demonſtration? Their miſ-

miſcarriage is owing, alas! to want of matter. Should we allow them to be maſters of wit, raillery, or learning, yet the ſubject would not admit them to exerciſe their talents; and conſequently, they can have no recourſe but to impudence, lying, and ſcurrility.

I muſt confeſs, that the author of your letter to me has carried this laſt qualification to a greater height than any of his fellows: but he has, in my opinion, failed a little in point of politeneſs from the original which he affects to imitate. If I ſhould ſay to a prime miniſter, "Sir, you have ſufficiently provided that Dunkirk ſhould be abſolutely demoliſhed and never repaired; you took the beſt advantages of a long and general peace to diſcharge the immenſe debts of the nation; you did wonders with the fleet; you made the Spaniards ſubmit to our quiet poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Portmahon; you never enriched yourſelf and family at the expence of the publick."——Such is the ſtyle of your ſuppoſed letter; which, however, if I am well informed, by no means comes up to the refinements of a fiſhwife at Billingſgate. "You never had a baſtard by Tom the waterman; "you never ſtole a ſilver tankard; you were never "whipped at the cart's tail."

In the title of your letter, it is ſaid to be "occaſioned by the late invectives on the King, her "Majeſty, and all the Royal Family:" and the whole contents of the paper (ſtripped from your eloquence) goes on upon a ſuppoſition affectedly

ſerious,

ſerious, that their majeſties, and the whole royal family, have been lately bitterly and publickly inveighed againſt, in the moſt enormous and treaſonmanner. Now, being a man, as you well know, altogether out of buſineſs, I do ſometimes loſe an hour in reading a few of thoſe controverſial papers upon politicks, which have ſucceeded for ſome years paſt to the polemical tracts between Whig and Tory: and in this kind of reading (if it may deſerve to be ſo called) although I have been often but little edified, or entertained, yet has it given me occaſion to make ſome obſervations. Firſt, I have obſerved, that however men may ſincerely agree in all the branches of the low church principle, in a tenderneſs for diſſenters of every kind, in a perfect abhorrence of popery and the pretender, and in the moſt firm adherence to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the royal houſe of Hanover; yet plenty of matter may ariſe to kindle their animoſities againſt each other, from the various infirmities, follies, and vices inherent in mankind.

Secondly, I obſerved, that although the vulgar reproach, which charges the quarrels between miniſters and their oppoſers, to be only a contention for power between thoſe who are in, and thoſe who would be in if they could: yet, as long as this proceeds no farther than a ſcuffle of ambition among a few perſons, it is only a matter of courſe, whereby the publick is little affected. But, when corruptions are plain, open, and undiſguiſed, both in their cauſes and effects, to the hazard

hazard of a nation's ruin, and ſo declared by all the principal perſons, and the bulk of the people, thoſe only excepted who are gainers by thoſe corruptions: and when ſuch miniſters are forced to fly for ſhelter to the throne, with a complaint of diſaffection to majeſty againſt all who durſt diſlike their adminiſtration: Such a general diſpoſition in the minds of men, cannot, I think, by any rules of reaſon, be called "the clamour of a few diſ-"affected incendiaries," graſping after power. It is the true voice of the people; which muſt and will at laſt be heard, or produce conſequences that I dare not mention,

I have obſerved, thirdly, that among all the offenſive printed papers which have come to my hand, whether good or bad, the writers have taken particular pains to celebrate the virtues of our excellent king and queen, even where theſe were, ſtictly ſpeaking, no part of the ſubject: nor can it be properly objected that ſuch a proceeding was only a blind to cover their malice towards you and your aſſiſtants; becauſe to affront the king, queen, or the royal family, as it would be directly oppoſite to the principles that thoſe kind of writers have always profeſſed, ſo it would deſtroy the very end they have in purſuit. And it is ſomewhat remarkable, that thoſe very writers againſt you, and the regiment you command, are ſuch as moſt diſtinguiſh themſelves upon all, or upon no occaſions, by their panegyricks on their prince; and as all of them do this without favour or hire,

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ſo ſome of them continue the ſame practice under the ſevereſt proſecution by you and your janiſſaries.

You ſeem to know, or at leaſt very ſtrongly to conjecture, who thoſe perſons are that give you ſo much weekly diſquiet. Will you dare to aſſert that any of theſe are Jacobites, endeavour to alienate the hearts of the people, to defame the prince, and then dethrone him (for theſe are your expreſſions) and that I am their patron, their bulwark, their hope, and their refuge? Can you think I will deſcend to vindicate myſelf againſt an aſperſion ſo abſurd? God be thanked, we have had many a change of miniſtry without changing our prince: for, if it had been otherwiſe, perhaps revolutions might have been more frequent. Heaven forbid that the welfare of a great kingdom, and of a brave people, ſhould be truſted with the thread of a ſingle ſubject's life; for I ſuppoſe it is not yet in your view to entail the miniſtryſhip in your family. Thus I hope we may live to ſee different miniſters and different meaſures, without any danger to the ſucceſſion in the royal proteſtant line of Hanover.

You are pleaſed to advance a topick, which I could never heartily approve of in any party, although they have each in their turn advanced it while they had the ſuperiority. You tell us, It is hard that while every private man ſhall have the liberty to chooſe what ſervants he pleaſes, the ſame privilege ſhould be refuſed to a king. This

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aſſertion, crudely underſtood, can hardly be ſupported. If by ſervants be only meant thoſe who are purely menial, who provide for their maſter's food and cloathing, or for the convenience and ſplendor of his family, the point is not worth debating. But, the bad or good choice of a chancellor, a ſecretary, an ambaſſador, a treaſurer, and many other officers, is of very high conſequence to the whole kingdom: ſo is likewiſe that amphibious race of courtiers between ſervants and miniſters; ſuch as the ſteward, chamberlain, treaſuerer of the houſhold and the like, being all of the privy council, and ſome of the cabinet; who, according to their talents, their principles, and their degree of favour, may be great inſtruments of good or evil, both to the ſubject and the prince; ſo that the parallel is by no no means adequate between a prince's court, and a private family. And yet, if an inſolent footman be troubleſome in the neighbourhood; if he breaks the people's windows, inſults their ſervants, breaks into other folks houſes to pilfer what he can find, although he belong to a duke, and be a favourite in his ſtation, yet thoſe who are injured may, without juſt offence, complain to his lord, and for want of redreſs get a warrant to ſend him to the ſtocks, to Bridewell, or to Newgate, according to the nature and degree of his delinquencies. Thus the ſervants of the prince, whether menial or otherwiſe, if they be of his council, are ſubject to the enquiries and proſecutions of the great council of

the nation, even as far as to capital puniſhment; and ſo muſt ever be in our conſtitution, till a miniſter can procure a majority even of that council to ſhelter him; which I am ſure you will allow to be a deſperate criſis, under any party of the moſt plauſible denomination.

The only inſtance you produce, or rather inſinuate, to prove the late invectives againſt the king, queen and royal family, is drawn from that deduction of the Engliſh hiſtory, publiſhed in ſeveral papers, by the Craftſman; wherein are ſhewn the bad conſequences to the publick, as well as to the prince, from the practices of evil miniſters in moſt reigns, and at ſeveral periods, when the throne was filled by wiſe monarchs, as well as by weak. This deduction, therefore, cannot reaſonably give the leaſt offence to a Britiſh king, when he ſhall obſerve that the greateſt and ableſt of his predeceſſors, by their own candor, by a particular juncture of affairs, or by the general infirmity of human nature, have ſometimes put too much truſt in confident, inſinuating, and avaricious miniſters.

Wiſdom, attended by virtue and a generous nature, is not unapt to be impoſed on. Thus Milton deſcribes Uriel, "the ſharpeſt-ſighted ſpirit "in heaven," and "regent of the ſun," deceived by the diſſimulation and flattery of the devil, for which the poet gives a philoſophical reaſon, but needleſs here to quote. Is any thing more common, or more uſeful, than to caution wiſe men in high ſtations againſt putting too much truſt in

in undertaking ſervants, cringing flatterers, or deſigning friends? Since the Aſiatic cuſtom of governing by prime miniſters has prevailed in ſo many courts of Europe, how careful ſhould every prince be in the choice of the perſon on whom ſo great a truſt is devolved, whereon depend the ſafety and welfare of himſelf and all his ſubjects! Queen Elizabeth, whoſe adminiſtration is frequently quoted as the beſt pattern for Engliſh princes to follow, could not reſiſt the artifices of the earl of Leiceſter; who, although univerſally allowed to be the moſt ambitious, inſolent, and corrupt perſon of his age, was yet her greateſt, and almoſt her only favourite: (his religion indeed being partly puritan and partly infidel, might have better tallied with preſent times) yet this wiſe queen would never ſuffer the openeſt enemies of that overgrown lord to be ſacrificed to his vengeance; nor durſt he charge them with a deſign of introducing popery, or the Spaniſh pretender.

How many great families do we all know, whoſe maſters have paſſed for perſons of good abilities, during the whole courſe of their lives, and yet the greateſt part of whoſe eſtates have ſunk in the hands of their ſtewards and receivers; their revenues paid them in ſcanty portions, at large diſcount, and treble intereſt, though they did not know it; while the tenants were daily racked, and at the ſame time accuſed to their landlords of inſolvency. Of this ſpecies are ſuch managers, who, like honeſt Peter Waters, pretend to clear an

eſtate, keep the owner pennyleſs, and after ſeven years, leave him five times more in debt, while they ſink half a plum into their own pockets.

Thoſe who think themſelves concerned, may give you thanks for that gracious liberty you are pleaſed to allow them of "taking vengeance on "the miniſters, and there ſhooting their enve- "nomed arrows." As to myſelf; I neither owe you vengeance, nor make uſe of ſuch weapons: but it is your weakneſs, or ill-fortune, or perhaps the fault of your conſtitution, to convert whole- ſome remedies into poiſon; for you have received better and more frequent inſtructions than any mi- niſter of your age and country, if God had given you the grace to apply them.

I dare promiſe you the thanks of half the king- dom, if you pleaſe to perform the promiſe you have made of ſuffering the Craftſman and com- pany, or whatever other infamous wretches and execrable villains you mean, to take their ven- geance only on your own ſacred miniſterial perſon, without bringing any of your brethren, much leſs the moſt remote branch of the royal family, into the debate. This generous offer I ſuſpected from the firſt; becauſe there were never heard of ſo many, ſo unneceſſary, and ſo ſevere proſecutions as you have promoted during your miniſtry, in a kingdom where the liberty of the preſs is ſo much pretended to be allowed. But, in reading a page or two, I found you thought it proper to explain away your grant; for there you tell us, that

"theſe

" theſe miſcreants" (meaning the writers againſt you) " are to remember that the laws have ABUN-" DANTLY LESS generous, leſs mild and merciful " ſentiments" than yourſelf; and into their ſecular hands the poor authors muſt be delivered to fines, priſons, pillories, whippings, and the gallows. Thus your promiſe of impunity, which began ſomewhat jeſuitically, concludes with the mercy of a Spaniſh inquiſitor.

If it ſhould ſo happen that I am neither abettor, patron, protector, nor ſupporter of theſe imaginary invectives " againſt the king, her majeſty, " or any of the royal family," I deſire to know what ſatisfaction I am to get from you, or the creature you employed in writing the libel which I am now anſwering? It will be no excuſe to ſay, that I differ from you in every particular of your political reaſon and practice; becauſe that will be to load the beſt, the ſoundeſt, and moſt numerous part of the kingdom with the denominations you are pleaſed to beſtow upon me, that they are " Jacobites, wicked miſcreants, infamous wret-" ches, execrable villains, and defamers of the " king, queen, and all the royal family," and " guilty of high treaſon." You cannot know my ſtyle; but I can eaſily know your works, which are performed in the ſight of the ſun. Your good inclinations are viſible; but I begin to doubt the ſtrength of your credit, even at court, that you have not power to make his majeſty believe me the perſon which you repreſent in your libel,

as moſt infallibly you have often attempted, and in vain, becauſe I muſt otherwiſe have found it by the marks of his royal diſpleaſure. However, to be angry with you, to whom I am indebted for the greateſt obligation I could poſſibly receive, would be the higheſt ingratitude. It is to YOU I owe that reputation I have acquired for ſome years paſt of being a lover of my country and its conſtitution: to YOU I owe the libels and ſcurrilities conferred upon me by the worſt of men, and conſequently ſome degree of eſteem and friendſhip from the beſt. From YOU I learned the ſkill of diſtinguiſhing between a patriot and plunderer of his country: and from YOU I hope in time to acquire the knowledge of being a loyal, faithful, and uſeful ſervant to the beſt of princes, king George the Second; and therefore I can conclude, by your example, but with greater truth, that I am not only with humble ſubmiſſion and reſpect, but with infinite gratitude, Sir, your moſt obedient and moſt obliged ſervant, W. P.

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES.

Nihil eſt aliud in fœdere, niſi ut pia et æterna pax ſit.

CICERO, pro C. Balbo.

Jan. 16, 1712-13.

I Begin to think, that though perhaps there may be ſeveral very exact maps of Great Britain to be had at the ſhops in Amſterdam or The Hague; and ſome ſhining genii in that country can, it may be, look out the moſt remarkable places in our iſland, eſpecially thoſe upon the ſea-coaſt or near it, as Portſmouth, Chatham, Torbay, and the like; yet it is highly neceſſary, that "Chamber-"lain's Preſent State," or ſome other good book of that ſort, were carefully tranſlated into Dutch, *in uſum illuſtriſſimorum ordinum*, or with any other ſounding and pompous title, only ſignifying, that it was done for the uſe of our good allies, and to ſet them right in the nature of our government, conſtitution, and laws; with which they do not ap-

pear to be ſo well acquainted as might be expected. I am ſenſible that as things now ſtand, if a manifeſto or memorial ſhould be ſent them, humbly repreſenting to their High Mightineſſes, That Great Britain is an independent monarchy, governed by its own laws: that the Queen is ſupreme over all orders of the realm: that no other prince, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, has, or ought to have, any authority and juriſdiction over us; that where the Queen, Lords, and Commons, ſolemnly conſent, it is a law; and where the collective body of the people agree, it is the ſenſe of the nation: that the making war and peace is the prerogative of the crown; and that all alliances are to be obſerved only ſo far as they anſwer the ends for which they were made: in ſuch a caſe, it is not unlikely but the Amſterdam Gazette, or ſome other paper in the Seven Provinces, would immediately anſwer all this, by publicly proteſting, that it came from the Jacobites and Frenchified Highfliers, and therefore ought not to be admitted as genuine: for, of late, that celebrated writer, and two or three of his ſeconds, have undertaken to tell us poor Britons, who are our beſt ſubjects, and how we ought to behave ourſelves towards our allies. So that, in this unhappy juncture, I do not ſee when we ſhall come to a right underſtanding. On the other hand, ſuppoſe we agreed to give them the precedence, and left the firſt propoſal for overtures of accommodation to their management; this perhaps might quickly bring us to be

better

better acquainted. Let them therefore lay aſide all clumſy pretences to addreſs; tell us no more of former battles, ſieges, and glories; nor make love to us in proſe, and extol our beauty, our fortune, and their own paſſion for us, to the ſtars: but let them come roundly to the buſineſs, and in plain terms give us to underſtand, that they will not recognize any other government in Great Britain, but Whiggarchy only: that they treated with us as ſuch, and are not obliged to acknowledge a uſurped power, called a Monarchy, to which they are utter ſtrangers: that they have a juſt demand upon us ever ſince the Revolution; which is a precedent for their interpoſing, whenever Popery and arbitrary power are coming in upon us, which at preſent they are informed by their friends is our caſe: and beſides, they are adviſed by able counſel, that we are only tenants for life; and they, being mentioned in the entail, are obliged to have a watchful eye over us, and to ſee that neither waſte nor dilapidation be done upon the premiſes. If all this be not the caſe, and a true ſtate of the controverſy, as I heartily hope it is not, I leave any rational creature, pick him where you will between the Danube and Ganges, to judge of the following remonſtrance.

A war is undertaken by ſeveral potentates in conjunction, upon certain cauſes and conditions, plainly expreſſed in a writing called "The Grand "Alliance." This war is carried on with ſucceſs; the enemy offers to treat, and propoſes to ſatisfy all

all the juſt demands of the ſeveral parties engaged againſt them. Great Britain makes her claim, ſo does Portugal; and both are fully ſatisfied. The Dutch produce their barrier of Gertruydenberg; and are aſſured they ſhall have it, except two or three places at moſt. Savoy and Pruſſia have more than ever they aſked. Only the Emperor will have all Spain, contrary to the reaſons upon which his brother's renunciation was founded, and in direct violation of a fundamental maxim, "The "balance of power:" ſo that he would involve us in a ſecond war, and a new "Grand Alliance," under pretence of obſerving the old one. This, in ſhort, is the caſe; and yet, after all the bloodſhed, expence, and labour, to compaſs theſe great ends, though her Britannic Majeſty finds by experience that every potentate in the Grand Alliance, except herſelf, has actually broke it every year; though ſhe ſtands poſſeſſed of an undoubted right to make peace and war; though ſhe has procured for her allies all that ſhe was obliged to by treaty; though her two houſes of parliament humbly entreat her to finiſh the great work; though her people with one voice admire and congratulate the wiſe ſteps ſhe has taken, and cry aloud to her to defer their happineſs no longer; though ſome of the allies, and one or two of the provinces, have declared for peace, and her Majeſty's domeſtic enemies dread it as the utter downfal of their faction; yet ſtill the bleſſing depends, and expectation is our lot. The menacing Penſionary has ſcruples: he deſires time

to

to look out for ſomething to demand: there are a dozen or two of petty princes, who want ſilk ſtockings, and lace round their hats: we muſt ſtay till the ſecond part of Denain comes upon the ſtage, and Squire South promiſes to go directly to Madrid, the next time we ſhew him the way thither.

Her Majeſty is all goodneſs and tenderneſs to her people and her allies. A brighter example of piety could not adorn the life of her royal grandfather, whoſe ſolemn anniverſary we muſt ſhortly celebrate. She has now prorogued the beſt parliament that ever aſſembled in her reign; and reſpited her own glory, and the wiſhes, prayers, and wants of her people, only to give ſome of her allies an opportunity to think of the returns they owe her, and try if there be ſuch things as gratitude, juſtice, or humanity, in Europe. This conduct of her Majeſty is without parallel. Never was ſo great a condeſcenſion made to the unreaſonable clamours of an inſolent faction, now dwindled to the moſt contemptible circumſtances. It is certainly high time they ſhould begin to meditate other meaſures, unleſs they vainly imagine the government muſt part with both its attributes of mercy and juſtice, till they are pleaſed to be dutiful and obedient. What ill-grounded hopes and expectations they have under-hand adminiſtered to any of the allies, is not worth my while to enquire; ſince, whatever they are, they muſt come attended with the blackeſt treaſon and ingratitude. The Dutch have the leaſt

leaſt reaſon in the world to rely on ſuch a broken reed; and after having ſolemnly promiſed to conform themſelves to her Majeſty's wiſdom, and depend on her conduct, which is the language of their lateſt profeſſions, ſuch clandeſtine management would fully deſerve all thoſe appellations, with which the writings of the Whigs are ſo richly embelliſhed.

After all, when her Majeſty and her ſubjects have waited one period more, and affixed a new date to their wiſhes and their patience; ſince peace is the only end of every alliance, and ſince all that we fought for is yielded up by the enemy, in juſtice to her prerogative, to her parliament, and her people, the deſirable bleſſing will, no doubt, be reached out to us: our happineſs will not be put off till they who have ill-will at us can find time and power to prevent it. All that a ſtubborn ally can then expect, is, time to come in, and accept thoſe terms which himſelf once thought reaſonable. The preſent age will ſoon taſte the ſweets of ſuch conduct; and poſterity as highly applaud it. Only they who now rail and calumniate, will do ſo ſtill, and who are diſpoſed to give every thing the ſame treatment which makes for our ſafety and welfare, and ſpoils their game of diſorder and confuſion.

It is true, the preſent ſtagnation of affairs is accounted for another way; and the party give out, that France begins to draw back, and would ex-

plain ſeveral articles upon us: but the authors of this forgery know very well I do not miſcall it; and are conſcious to the criminal reaſons why it is with ſo much induſtry bandied about. France rather enlarges her offers, than abates or recedes from them: ſo happy are we in finding our moſt inveterate and ungenerous enemies within our own bowels! The Whigs, according to cuſtom, may chuckle and ſolace themſelves with the viſionary hopes of coming miſchief; and imagine they are grown formidable, becauſe they are to be humoured in their extravagances, and to be paid for their perverſeneſs. Let them go on to glory in their projected ſchemes of government, and the bleſſed effects they have produced in the world. It was not enough for them to make obedience the duty of the Sovereign, but this obedience muſt at length be made paſſive; and that non-reſiſtance may not wholly vaniſh from among the Virtues, ſince the ſubject is weary of it, they would fairly make it over to their Monarch. The compact between Prince and People is ſuppoſed to be mutual; but Grand Alliances are, it ſeems, of another nature: a failure in one party does not diſengage the reſt; they are tied up and entangled ſo long as any one confederate adheres to the negative; and we are not allowed to make uſe of the Poliſh argument, and plead *Non loquitur*. But theſe artifices are too thin to hold: they are the cobwebs which the faction have ſpun out of the laſt

dregs

dregs of their poiſon, made to be ſwept away with the unneceſſary animals who contrived them. Their tyranny is at an end; and their ruin very near: I can only adviſe them to become their fall, like Cæſar, and "die with de-"cency."

A COM-

A

COMPLEAT REFUTATION

OF

THE FALSEHOODS ALLEDGED AGAINST

ERASMUS LEWIS*, Eſq.

" Beware of Counterfeits, for ſuch are abroad."
Dr. STAFFOLD's Quack-bill.

" Quin, quæ dixiſti modo,
Omnia ementitus equidem Soſia Amphitryonis ſum."
PLAUT.

" Parva motu primo, mox ſenſe attollit in auras."
VIRG.

Feb. 2, 1712-13.

I INTEND this paper for the ſervice of a particular perſon; but herein I hope, at the ſame time, to do ſo ſome good to the publick. A mon-

* " My friend Lewis has had a lye ſpread on him, by the miſtake " of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him thanks " for paſſing his privy ſeal to come from France. That other Lewis " ſpread about, that the man brought him thanks from lord Perth " and lord Melfort (lords now with the Pretender) for his great ſer- " vices, &c. The lords will examine that other Lewis to-morrow in " council; and I believe you will hear of it in the prints, for I will " make Abel Roper give an account of it." Journal to Stella, Jan. 27.

" I was

monſtrous ſtory has been for a while moſt induſtriouſly handed about, reflecting upon a gentleman in great truſt under the principal Secretary of State; who has conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence, that before this incident, neither the moſt virulent pens nor tongues have been ſo bold as to attack him. The reader eaſily underſtands, that the perſon here meant is Mr. Lewis, ſecretary to the earl of Dartmouth; concerning whom a ſtory has run, for about ten days paſt, which makes a mighty noiſe in this town, is no doubt with very ample additions tranſmitted to every part of the kingdom, and probably will be returned to us by the Dutch Gazetteer, with the judicious comments peculiar to that Political author: wherefore, having received the fact and the circumſtances from the beſt hands, I ſhall here ſet them down before the reader; who will eaſily pardon the ſtyle, which is made up of extracts from the depoſitions and aſſertions of the ſeveral perſons concerned.

On Sunday laſt was month, Mr. Lewis, ſecretary to the earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Skelton, met by accident at Mr. Scarborough's lodgings in St. James's, among ſeven other perſons, viz. the

"I was in the city with my printer, to alter an Examiner; about "my friend Lewis's ſtory, which will be told with remarks."
Ibid. Jan. 31.

"I could do nothing till to-day about the Examiner; but the prin-"ter came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to be "ſaid: and then Mr. Lewis came, and corrected it as he would have "it: ſo that I was neither at church nor court." Ibid. Feb. 1.

earls

earls of Suſſex and Finlater, the lady Barbara Skelton, lady Walter, Mrs. Vernon, Mrs. Scarborough, and miſs Scarborough her daughter; who all declared, "that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton "were half an hour in company together." There Mrs. Scarborough made Mr. Skelton and Mr. Lewis known to each other; and told the former, "that "he ought to thank Mr. Lewis for the trouble he "had given himſelf in the diſpatch of a licenſe "under the privy ſeal, by which Mr. Skelton was "permitted to come from France to England." Hereupon Mr. Skelton ſaluted Mr. Lewis, and told him, "he would wait on him at his houſe, to re-"turn him his thanks." Two or three days after, Mr. Skelton, in company with the earl of Suſſex, his lady's father, went to a houſe in Marlborough-ſtreet, where he was informed Mr. Lewis lived; and, as ſoon as the ſuppoſed Mr. Lewis * appeared, Mr. Skelton expreſſed himſelf in theſe words: "Sir, I beg your pardon; I find I am miſtaken: "I came to viſit Mr. Lewis of my lord Dart-"mouth's office, to thank him for the ſervice he "did me in paſſing my privy ſeal." Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, anſwered, "Sir, there is no harm "done." Upon which, Mr. Skelton immediately withdrew to my lord Suſſex, who ſtayed for him in the coach; and drove away. Mr. Skelton, who was a ſtranger to the town, ordered the coachman to drive to Mr. Lewis's without more particular directions: and this was the occaſion of the miſtake.

* Mr. Henry Lewis, a Hamburg merchant.

For above a fortnight nothing was ſaid of this matter; but, on Saturday the 24th of January laſt, a report began to ſpread, that Mr. Skelton going by miſtake to Mr. Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, inſtead of Mr. Lewis of the ſecretary's office, had told him, "that he had ſervices for him from the earls of "Perth, Middleton, Melfort, and about twelve "perſons more, of the court of St. Germains." When Mr. Lewis heard of this, he wrote to the above-mentioned Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, deſiring to be informed, what ground there was for this report; and received for anſwer, "that his friend "Skelton could beſt inform him." Mr. Lewis wrote a ſecond letter, inſiſting on an account of this matter, and that he would come and demand it in perſon. Accordingly he and Charles Ford, eſq. went the next morning, and found the ſaid Levi in a great ſurprize at the report, who declared, "He had never given the leaſt occaſion for "it; and that he would go to all the coffee-houſes "in town, to do Mr. Lewis juſtice." He was aſked by Mr. Lewis, "Whether Mr. Skelton had "named from what places and perſons he had "brought thoſe ſervices?" Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, anſwered, "He was poſitive Mr. Skelton had neither "named perſon nor place." Here Mr. Skelton was called in; and Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, confirmed what he had ſaid in his hearing. Mr. Lewis then deſired, he would give him in writing what he had declared before the company; but Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, excuſed it, as unneceſſary, "becauſe he

"had

" had already ſaid he would do him juſtice in all " the coffee-houſes in town." On the other hand, Mr. Lewis inſiſted to have it in writing, as being leſs troubleſome; and to this Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, replied, " That he would give his anſwer by three " o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly Mr. Ford went to his houſe at the time appointed, but did not find him at home; and in the mean time the ſaid Levi went to White's Chocolate-houſe; where, notwithſtanding all he had before denied, he ſpread the above-mentioned report afreſh, with ſeveral additional circumſtances, as, " That when Mr. " Skelton and the earl of Suſſex came to his houſe, " they ſtayed with him a conſiderable time, and " drank tea."

The earl of Peterborough, uncle to the ſaid Mr. Skelton, thought himſelf obliged to enquire into the truth of this matter: and after ſome ſearch, found Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, at the Thatched-houſe tavern; where he denied every thing again to his Lordſhip, as he had done in the morning to Mr. Ford, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Skelton.

This affair coming to the knowledge of the Queen, her Majeſty was pleaſed to order an examination of it by ſome Lords of the Council. Their Lordſhips appointed Wedneſday the 28th of January laſt for this enquiry: and gave notice for attendance to the ſaid Levi, *alias* Lewis, and ſeveral other perſons who had knowledge of the matter. When Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, was called in, he declared, " That Mr. Skelton told him he had ſer-

"vices for him from France, but did not name "any perſons." William Pulteney, eſq. who was ſummoned, affirmed, "That he had told him, "Mr. Skelton named the earl of Perth and Mel- "fort." Here Levi, *alias* Lewis, appeared in con- fuſion; for he had intreated Mr. Pulteney, not to ſay he had named any names, "for he would not "ſtand it;" but Mr. Pulteney anſwered, "You "may give yourſelf the lie; I will not." The earl of Suſſex declared, "he did not go out of "his coach, and that his ſon-in-law, Mr. Skelton, "had not been gone half a minute before he re- "turned to the coach." Mr. Skelton declared, "That he knew Mr. Lewis by ſight perfectly "well; that he immediately ſaw his miſtake; that "he ſaid nothing to him but the words firſt men- "tioned; and that he had not brought Mr. Lewis "any ſervice from any perſon whatſoever." The earl of Finlater and other perſons ſummoned de- clared, "That Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were "perſonally known to each other," which rendered it wholly improbable that Mr. Skelton ſhould miſ- take him: ſo that the whole matter appeared to be only a fooliſh and malicious invention of the ſaid Levi, *alias* Lewis, who, when called to an ac- count, utterly diſowned it.

If Mr. Levi's view, in broaching this incoherent ſlander, was to make his court to any particular perſons, he has been extremely diſappointed; ſince all men of principle, laying aſide the diſtinction of opinions in politicks, have entirely agreed in aban- doning

doning him; which I obſerve with a great deal of pleaſure, as it is for the honour of human-kind. But, as neither virtue nor vice are wholly engroſſed by either party, the good qualities of the mind, whatever biaſs they may receive by miſtaken principles or miſtaken politicks, will not be extinguiſhed. When I reflect on this, I cannot, without being a very partial writer, forbear doing juſtice to William Pulteney, eſq. who, being deſired by this ſame Mr. Levi to drop one part of what he knew, refuſed it with diſdain. Men of honour will always ſide with the truth; of which the behaviour of Mr. Pulteney, and of a great number of gentlemen of worth and quality, are undeniable inſtances.

I am only ſorry, that the unhappy author of this report ſeems left ſo entirely deſolate of all his acquaintance, that he has nothing but his own conduct to direct him; and conſequently is ſo far from acknowledging his iniquity and repentance to the world, that, in the Daily Courant of Saturday laſt, he has publiſhed a Narrative, as he calls it, of what paſſed between him and Mr. Skelton; wherein he recedes from ſome part of his former confeſſion. This Narrative is drawn up by way of anſwer to an advertiſement in the ſame paper two days before; which advertiſement was couched in very moderate terms, and ſuch as Mr. Levi ought, in all prudence, to have acquieſced in. I freely acquit every body but himſelf from any ſhare in this miſerable proceeding; and can foretel him,

that as his prevaricating manner of adhering to ſome part of the ſtory will not convince one rational perſon of his veracity; ſo neither will any body interpret it otherwiſe than as a blunder of a helpleſs creature, left to itſelf; who endeavours to get out of one difficulty, by plunging into a greater. It is therefore for the ſake of this poor young man, that I ſhall ſet before him, in the plaineſt manner I am able, ſome few inconſiſtences in that Narrative of his; the truth of which, he ſays, he is ready to atteſt upon oath; which whether he would avoid by an oath only upon the goſpels, himſelf can beſt determine.

Mr. Levi ſays, in the aforeſaid Narrative in the Daily Courant, "That Mr. Skelton miſtaking him "for Mr. Lewis, told him he had ſeveral ſervices "to him from France, and named the names of "ſeveral perſons, which he [Levi] will not be "poſitive to." Is it poſſible that, among ſeveral names, he cannot be poſitive ſo much as to *one*, after having named the earls of Perth, Middleton, and Melfort, ſo often at White's and the Coffee-houſes? Again, he declared, "that my lord Suſ-"ſex came in with Mr. Skelton; that both drank "tea with him;" and therefore whatever words paſſed, my lord Suſſex muſt be a witneſs to. But his lordſhip declares before the council, "that he "never ſtirred out of the coach; and that Mr. "Skelton, in going, returning, and talking with "Levi, was not abſent half a minute." Therefore, now, in his printed narrative, he contradicts

dicts that eſſential circumſtance of my lord Suſſex coming in along with Mr. Skelton; ſo that we are here to ſuppoſe that this diſcourſe paſſed only between him and Mr. Skelton, without any third perſon for a witneſs, and therefore he thought he might ſafely affirm what he pleaſed. Beſides, the nature of their diſcourſe, as Mr. Levi reports it, makes this part of his narrative impoſſible and abſurd, becauſe the truth of it turns upon Mr. Skelton's miſtaking him for the real Mr. Lewis; and it happens that ſeven perſons of quality were by in a room, where Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company, and ſaw them talk together. It happens likewiſe, that the real and counterfeit Lewis have no more reſemblance to each other in their perſons, than they have in their underſtandings, their truth, their reputation, or their principles. Beſides, in this narrative, Mr Levi directly affirms what he directly denied to the earl of Peterborough, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Lewis himſelf; to whom he twice or thrice expreſsly affirmed, that Mr. Skelton had not named either place or perſon.

There is one circumſtance in Levi's Narrative, which may deceive the reader. He ſays, "Mr. "Skelton was taken into the dining-room;" this dining-room is a ground-room next the ſtreet, and Mr. Skelton never went farther than the door of it. His many prevarications in this whole affair, and the many thouſand various ways of telling his ſtory, are too tedious to be related. I ſhall therefore conclude with one remark. By the true ac-

count given in this paper, it appears that Mr. Skelton finding his miſtake before he ſpoke a word, begged Mr. Levi's pardon, and, by way of apology, told him, "his viſit was intended to Mr. Lewis of "my Lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for "the *ſervice* he had done him, in paſſing the "privy-ſeal." It is probable that Mr. Levi's low intellectuals were deluded by the word *ſervice*, which he took as compliments from ſome perſons; and then it was eaſy to find names. Thus, what his ignorance and ſimplicity miſled him to begin, his malice taught him to propagate.

I have been the more ſolicitous to ſet this matter in a clear light, becauſe Mr. Lewis being employed and truſted in public affairs, if this report had prevailed, perſons of the firſt rank might poſſibly have been wounded through his ſides.

SOME

SOME

THOUGHTS

ON

FREE-THINKING.

[Written in England, but left unfiniſhed].

DISCOURSING one day with a prelate of the kingdom of Ireland, who is a perſon of excellent wit and learning, he offered a notion applicable to the ſubject we were then upon, which I took to be altogether new and right. He ſaid, that the difference betwixt a mad-man and one in his wits, in what related to ſpeech, conſiſted in this; that the former ſpoke out whatever came into his mind, and juſt in the confuſed manner as his imagination preſented the ideas: the latter only expreſſed ſuch thoughts as his judgement directed him to chooſe, leaving the reſt to die away in his memory; and that, if the wiſeſt man would, at any time, utter his thoughts, in the crude indigeſted manner as they come into his head, he would be looked upon as raving mad. And indeed, when we conſider our thoughts, as they

they are the ſeeds of the words and actions, we cannot but agree that they ought to be kept under the ſtricteſt regulation; and that in the great multiplicity of ideas which one's mind is apt to form, there is nothing more difficult than to ſelect thoſe which are moſt proper for the conduct of life. So that I cannot imagine what is meant by the mighty zeal in ſome people for aſſerting the freedom of thinking; becauſe, if ſuch thinkers keep their thoughts within their own breaſts, they can be of no conſequence, farther than to themſelves. If they publiſh them to the world, they ought to be anſwerable for the effects their thoughts produce upon others. There are thouſands in this kingdom, who, in their thoughts, prefer a republick, or abſolute power of a prince, before a limited monarchy; yet, if any of theſe ſhould publiſh their opinions, and go about, by writing or diſcourſe, to perſuade the people to innovations in government, they would be liable to the ſevereſt puniſhments the law can inflict; and therefore they are uſually ſo wiſe as to keep their ſentiments to themſelves. But, with reſpect to religion, the matter is quite otherwiſe: and the publick, at leaſt here in England, ſeems to be of opinion with *Tiberius*, that *Deorum injuriæ diis curæ*. They leave it to God Almighty to vindicate the injuries done to himſelf, who is no doubt ſufficiently able, by perpetual miracles, to revenge the affronts of impious men. And, it ſhould ſeem, that

that is what princes expect from him, though I cannot readily conceive the grounds they go upon; nor why, since they are God's vicegerents, they do not think themselves, at least equally obliged to preserve their master's honour as their own; since this is what they expect from those they depute, and since they never fail to represent the disobedience of their subjects, as offences against God. It is true, the visible reason of this neglect is obvious enough: the consequences of atheistical opinions, published to the world, are not so immediate, or so sensible, as doctrines of rebellion and sedition, spread in a proper season. However, I cannot but think the same consequences are as natural and probable from the former, though more remote: and whether these have not been in view among our great planters of infidelity in England, I shall hereafter examine.

HINTS

HINTS ON GOOD MANNERS.

GOOD-MANNERS is the art of making every reaſonable perſon in the company eaſy, and to be eaſy ourſelves.

What paſſes for good-manners in the world, generally produces quite contrary effects.

Many perſons of both ſexes, whom I have known, and who paſſed for well-bred in their own, and the world's opinion, are the moſt troubleſome in company to others and themſelves.

Nothing is ſo great an inſtance of ill-manners as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you pleaſe none; if you flatter only one or two, you affront the reſt.

Flattery is the worſt and falſeſt way of ſhewing our eſteem.

Where the company meets, I am confident the few reaſonable perſons are every minute tempted to curſe the man or woman among them, who endeavours to be moſt diſtinguiſhed for their good-manners.

A man of ſenſe would rather faſt till night, than dine at ſome tables, where the lady of the houſe

houſe is poſſeſſed with good-manners; uneaſineſs, preſſing to eat, teaſing with civility; leſs practiſed in England than here.

Courts are the worſt of all ſchools to teach good-manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dreſs, are no part of good manners: and therefore every man of good underſtanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occaſion.

To ſpeak in ſuch a manner, as may poſſibly offend any reaſonable perſon in company, is the higheſt inſtance of ill-manners. Good-manners chiefly conſiſt in action, not in words. Modeſty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have known the court of England under four reigns, the two laſt but for a ſhort time; and whatever good-manners or politeneſs I obſerved in any of them, was not of the court growth, but imported: for a courtier by trade, as gentlemen uſhers, bedchamber-women, maids of honour, *

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Of Good-manners as to Converſation.

Men of wit and good underſtanding, as well as breeding, are ſometimes deceived, and give offence, by conceiving a better opinion of thoſe with whom they converſe than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the moſt innocent raillery, and even of that kind which was meant for praiſe, to be miſtaken for abuſe and reflection.

Of

Of Gibing, and how gibers ought to ſuffer.

Of arguers, perpetual contradicters, long talkers, who are abſent in company, interrupters, not liſteners, loud laughers.

Of thoſe men and women whoſe face is ever in a ſmile, talk ever with a ſmile, condole with a ſmile, &c.

Argument, as uſually managed, is the worſt ſort of converſation; as it is generally in books the worſt ſort of reading.

Good converſation is not to be expected in much company, becauſe few liſten, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are diſcovered, let the company be ever ſo large.

Perpetual aiming at wit, a very bad part of converſation. It is done to ſupport a character; it generally fails: it is a ſort of inſult on the company, and a conſtraint upon the ſpeaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, or buſineſs, or faculty, is a great breach of good-manners. Divines, phyſicians, lawyers, ſoldiers, particularly poets, are frequently guilty of this weakneſs. A poet conceives that the whole kingdom

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RESOLUTIONS

WHEN

I COME TO BE OLD.

Written in MDCXCIX.

NOT to marry a young woman.

Not to keep young company, unleſs they deſire it.

Not to be peeviſh, or moroſe, or ſuſpicious.

Not to ſcorn preſent ways, or wits, or faſhions, or men, or war, &c.

Not to be fond of children.

Not to tell the ſame ſtory over and over to the ſame people.

Not to be covetous.

Not to neglect decency or cleanlineſs, for fear of falling into naſtineſs.

Not to be over ſevere with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weakneſſes.

Not to be influenced by, or give ear to, knaviſh tattling ſervants, or others.

Not to be too free of advice, nor trouble any but thoſe who deſire it.

To

To deſire ſome good friends to inform me which of theſe reſolutions I break or neglect, and wherein; and reform accordingly.

Not to talk much, nor of myſelf.

Not to boaſt of my former beauty, or ſtrength, or favour with ladies, &c.

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be beloved by a young woman; *et eos qui hæreditatem captant, odiſſe ac vitare.*

Not to be poſitive or opinionative.

Not to ſet up for obſerving all theſe rules, for fear I ſhould obſerve none.

LAWS

FOR THE

DEAN's SERVANTS.

December 7th, 1733.

IF either of the two men ſervants be drunk, he ſhall pay an Engliſh crown out of his wages for the ſaid offence, by giving the dean a receipt for ſo much wages received.

When the dean is at home, no ſervant ſhall preſume to be abſent, without giving notice to the dean, and aſking leave, upon the forfeiture of ſix pence for every half-hour that he is abſent, to be ſtopt out of his or her board-wages.

When the dean is abroad, no ſervant, except the woman, ſhall preſume to leave the houſe for above one half-hour; after which, for every half-hour's abſence, he ſhall forfeit ſix pence: and if the other ſervant goes out before the firſt returns, he ſhall pay five ſhillings out of his wages, as above.

Whatever ſervant ſhall be taken in a manifeſt lie, ſhall forfeit one ſhilling out of his or her board-wages.

When the dean goes about the houſe, or out-houſes, or garden, or to Naboth's Vineyard,

whatever things he finds out of order, by neglect of any ſervant under whoſe care it was, that ſervant ſhall forfeit ſix pence, and ſee to get it mended as ſoon as poſſible, or ſuffer more forfeitures at the dean's diſcretion.

If two ſervants be abroad together when the dean is from home, and the fact be concealed from the dean; the concealer ſhall forfeit two crowns out of his or her wages, as above.

If, in waiting at table, the two ſervants be out of the room together, without orders, the laſt who went out ſhall forfeit three pence out of his board-wages.

The woman may go out when the dean is abroad for one hour, but no longer, under the ſame penalty with the men; but provided the two men-ſervants keep the houſe until ſhe returns: otherwiſe, either of the ſervants who goes out before her return, ſhall forfeit a crown out of his wages, as above.

Whatever other laws the dean ſhall think fit to make, at any time to come, for the government of his ſervants, and forfeitures for neglect or diſobedience, all the ſervants be bound to ſubmit to.

Whatever other ſervant, except the woman, ſhall preſume to be drunk, the other two ſervants ſhall inform the dean thereof, under pain of forfeiting two crowns out of his or her wages, beſide the forfeiture of a crown from the ſaid ſervant who was drunk.

OF

OF MEAN AND GREAT FIGURES,

Made by ſeveral Perſons.

Of thoſe who have made GREAT FIGURES in ſome particular Action or Circumſtance of their Lives.

ALEXANDER the Great, after his victory (at the Streights of Mount Taurus), when he entered the tent, where the queen and the princeſſes of Perſia fell at his feet.

Socrates, the whole laſt day of his life, and particularly from the time he took the poiſon until the moment he expired.

Cicero, when he was recalled from his baniſhment, the people through every place he paſſed meeting him with ſhouts of joy and congratulation, and all Rome coming out to receive him.

Regulus, when he went out of Rome attended by his friends to the gates, and returned to Carthage according to his word of honour, although he knew he muſt be put to a cruel death, for adviſing the Romans to purſue their war with that commonwealth.

Scipio the Elder, when he diſmiſſed a beautiful captive lady preſented to him after a great victory, turning his head aſide to preſerve his own virtue.

The ſame Scipio, when he and Hannibal met before the battle, if the fact be true.

Cincinnatus, when the meſſengers ſent by the ſenate to make him Dictator found him at the plough.

Epaminondas, when the Perſian ambaſſador came to his houſe, and found him in the midſt of poverty.

The earl of Strafford, the day that he made his own defence at his trial.

King Charles the Martyr, during his whole trial, and at his death.

The Black Prince, when he waited at ſupper on the King of France, whom he had conquered and taken priſoner the ſame day.

Virgil, when, at Rome, the whole audience roſe up, out of veneration, as he entered the theatre.

Mahomet the Great, when he cut off his beloved miſtreſs's head, on a ſtage erected for that purpoſe, to convince his ſoldiers, who taxed him for preferring his love to his glory.

Cromwell, when he quelled a mutiny in Hyde Park.

Harry the Great of France, when he entered Paris, and ſat at cards the ſame night with ſome great ladies, who were his mortal enemies.

Robert Harley earl of Oxford, at his trial.

Cato of Utica, when he provided for the ſafety of his friends, and had determined to die.

Sir Thomas More, during his impriſonment, and at his execution.

Marius, when the ſoldier ſent to kill him in the dungeon was ſtruck with ſo much awe and veneration, that his ſword fell from his hand.

Douglas, when the ſhip he commanded was on fire, and he lay down to die in it, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid, that one of his family ever quitted their poſt.

Of thoſe who have made a mean contemptible Figure, in ſome Action or Circumſtance of their Lives.

Anthony, at Actium, when he fled after Cleopatra.

Pompey, when he was killed on the ſea-ſhore in Egypt.

Nero and Vitellius, when they were put to death.

Lepidus, when he was compelled to lay down his ſhare of the Triumvirate.

Cromwell, the day he refuſed the kingſhip out of fear.

Perſeus king of Macedon, when he was led in triumph.

Richard II. of England, after he was depoſed.

The late king of Poland, when the king of Sweden forced him to give up his kingdom; and when he took it again, upon the king of Sweden's defeat by the Muſcovites.

King James II. of England, when the prince of Orange ſent to him at midnight to leave London.

King William III. of England, when he ſent to beg the Houſe of Commons to continue his Dutch guards, and was refuſed.

The late queen Anne of England, when ſhe ſent Whitworth to Muſcovy on an embaſſy of humiliation, for an inſult committed here on that prince's ambaſſador.

The lord chancellor Bacon, when he was convicted of bribery.

The late duke of Marlborough, when he was forced, after his own diſgrace, to carry his ducheſs's gold key to the queen.

The old earl of Pembroke, when a Scotch lord gave him a laſh with a whip at Newmarket, in preſence of all the nobility, and he bore it with patience.

King Charles II. of England, when he entered into the ſecond Dutch war; and in many other actions during his whole reign.

Philip II. of Spain, after the defeat of the Armada.

The emperor Charles V. when he reſigned his crown, and nobody would believe his reaſons.

King Charles I. of England, when, in gallantry to his queen, he thought to ſurpriſe her with a preſent of a diamond buckle, which he puſhed down her breaſt, and tore her fleſh with the tongue; upon which ſhe drew it out, and flung it on the ground.

Fairfax, the parliament general, at the time of king Charles's trial.

Julius Cæſar, when Anthony offered to put a diadem on his head, and the people ſhouted for joy to ſee him decline it; which he never offered to do, until he ſaw their diſlike in their countenances.

Coriolanus, when he withdrew his army from Rome at the entreaty of his mother.

Hannibal, at Antiochus's court.

Beau Fielding, at fifty years old, when, in a quarrel upon the ſtage, he was run into his breaſt, which he opened and ſhewed to the ladies, that he might move their love and pity; but they all fell a laughing.

The count de Buſſy Rabutin, when he was recalled to court after twenty years baniſhment into the country, and affected to make the ſame figure he did in his youth.

The earl of Sunderland, when he turned Papiſt in the time of king James II. and underwent all the forms of a Heretick converted.

Pope Clement VII. when he was taken priſoner, at Rome, by the emperor Charles the Fifth's forces.

Queen Mary of Scotland, when ſhe ſuffered Bothwell to raviſh her, and pleaded that as an excuſe for marrying him.

King John of England, when he gave up his kingdom to the pope, to be held as fief to the ſee of Rome.

PREAMBLE TO MR. HARLEY'S PATENT.

The Reaſons which induced her Majeſty to create the Right Honourable ROBERT HARLEY a Peer of Great Britain, being a tranſlation of the preamble to his Patent, dated May 11, 1711, and generally ſuppoſed to have been written by Dr. SWIFT.

[Printed from a copy in the Harleian Miſcellany.]

WHATEVER favour may be merited from a juſt prince, by a man born of an illuſtrious and very ancient family *, fitted by nature for all great things, and by all ſorts of learning qualified for greater; conſtantly employed in the ſtudy of ſtate affairs, and with the greateſt praiſe, and no ſmall danger, exerciſing variety of offices in the government: ſo much does our well-beloved and very faithful counſellor ROBERT HARLEY †,

* This noble family is deſcended from the ancient houſe of the De Harlais in France. Their common anceſtors were probably a family of that name reſident in Shropſhire long before the Conqueſt.

† Robert Harley, eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir Edward Harley, was born in London, Dec. 5, 1661. He was educated at Shilton, a private ſchool in Oxfordſhire, remarkable for producing, at the ſame time, a lord high treaſurer (the earl of Oxford), a lord high chancellor (lord Harcourt), a lord chief juſtice of the common pleas (lord Trevor), and ten members of the houſe of commons, who were all contemporaries, as well at ſchool as in parliament.

deſerve

deſerve at our hands: he, who in three ſucceſſive parliaments was unanimouſly choſen ſpeaker; and, at the ſame time that he filled the chair, was our principal ſecretary of ſtate: in no wiſe unequal to either province. Places, ſo ſeemingly diſagreeing, were eaſily reconciled by one, who knew how with equal weight and addreſs to moderate and govern the minds of men: one who could preſerve the rights of the people, without infringing the prerogative of the crown; and who thoroughly underſtood how well government could conſiſt with liberty. This double taſk being performed; after ſome reſpite, he bore the weight of our exchequer as chancellor, and thereby prevented the farther plundering of the nation; and alſo provided for the ſettling of a new trade to The South Seas; and (by reſcuing public credit) ſo opportunely relieved the languiſhing condition of the treaſury, as to deſerve thanks from the parliament, bleſſings from the citizens, and from Us (who never ſeparate our own intereſts from the public) no ſmall approbation. Therefore we decree to the man that has ſo eminently deſerved of us and of all our ſubjects, thoſe honours which were ſo long ſince due to him and his family; being induced thereto by our own good pleaſure, and the ſuffrage of all Great Britain: for we take it as an admonition, that he ſhould not in vain be preſerved, whom the ſtates of our realm have teſtified to be obnoxious to the hatred of wicked men, upon account of his moſt faithful ſervices to

us,

us, and whom they have congratulated upon his eſcape from the rage of a flagitious parricide. We gladly indulge their wiſhes, that he, who comes thus recommended to us by ſo honourable a vote of both houſes of parliament, ſhould have his ſeat among the peers, to many of whom his family has been long allied; and that he, who is himſelf learned, and a patron of learning, ſhould happily take his title from that city, where letters ſo glorioufly flouriſh. Now know ye, &c.

REMARKS

ON

BISHOP FLEETWOOD'S PREFACE.

Ecce iterum Criſpinus!

THE Biſhop of St. Aſaph's famous Preface having been ſo much buffeted of late between advocates and oppoſers, I had a curioſity to inſpect ſome of his other works. I ſent to the bookſellers in Duck Lane, and Little Britain, who returned me ſeveral of the ſermons which belonged to that preface; among others, I took notice of that upon the death of the duke of Glouceſter, which had a little preface of its own, and was omitted, upon mature deliberation, when thoſe ſermons were gathered up into a volume; though, conſidering the bulk, it could hardly be ſpared. It was a great maſter-piece of art in this admirable author, to write ſuch a ſermon, as, by help of a preface, would paſs for a Tory Diſcourſe in one reign, and, by omitting that preface, would denominate him a Whig in another: thus, by changing the poſition, the picture repreſents either the pope or the devil, the cardinal or the fool. I confeſs, it was malicious in me, and what few others would have done, to reſcue thoſe ſermons out of their duſt and oblivion; without which, if the

author

author had ſo pleaſed, they might have paſſed for new preached, as well as new printed: neither would the former preface have riſen up in judgement to confound the latter. But, upon ſecond thoughts, I cannot tell why this wilfully forgotten preface may not do the reverend author ſome ſervice. It is to be preſumed that the Spectator publiſhed the laſt with that intent: why therefore ſhould not my publiſhing the firſt be for the ſame end? and I dare be confident, that the part I have choſen will do his lordſhip much more ſervice; for here it will be found, that this prelate did, once in his life, think and write as became him; and that while he was a private clergyman, he could print a preface without fear of the hangman. I have choſen to ſet it at length, to prevent what might be objected againſt me, as an unfair repreſenter, ſhould I reſerve any part of this admirable diſcourſe, as well as to imitate the judicious Spectator; though I fear I ſhall not have ſo good contributions from our party, as that author is ſaid to have from another, upon the like occaſion; or, if I chance to give offence, be promiſed to have my loſſes made up to me, for my zeal in circulating prefaces. Without any ſuch deep and politic deſigns, I give it to the world out of meer goodnature, that they may find what conceptions the worthy author has formerly had of things, when his buſineſs was yet undone; ſo to ſilence a clamorous party, who, from the late preface, are too apt, how unjuſtly ſoever, to conclude, his lordſhip's principles are not agreeable to his preferments.

In

In this excellent preface, the worthy author thought fit to charge the Fanaticks and Whigs, upon the duke of Glouceſter's death, as people that would "try to make it a judgement of God "upon us for our ſins, by turning the kingdom "into a commonwealth." The ſatire muſt certainly be determined to them; for neither the Tories nor Nonjurors were ever charged with ſuch principles, but rather as carrying the regal authority too high, in aſſerting the divine right of kings. This ſpecies of government, which, the learned prelate ſays, is "as ill fitted for our nature as "popery is for our religion," was by ſome people, it ſeems, endeavoured to be brought in, whom he terms "an impudent and clamorous faction." Whether that "impudent and clamorous faction" would really do all thoſe things he charges them with, is by the Whigs denied, and charitable men may in part make a queſtion: but that by this he did, and could then only mean the Whigs, could be no queſtion at all; ſince none elſe were ever charged with thoſe crimes in theſe kingdoms; and they have always been ſo, though ſeldom indeed ſo heavily, unleſs by high-flying Tories or Jacobites. It ſeems, his lordſhip had dreadful apprehenſions of what they would "certainly do," and begs of God "evermore to preſerve us from this ſpecies." And ſurely he was in the right; for that would be, indeed, "giving us we know not what"—his lordſhip's enemies "will tell the reſt with pleaſure!"

OB-

OBSERVATIONS

ON

HEYLIN'S History of the PRESBYTERIANS *.

THIS book, by ſome errors and neglects in the ſtyle, ſeems not to have received the author's laſt correction. It is written with ſome vehemence, very pardonable in one who had been an obſerver and a ſufferer, in England, under that diabolical fanatic ſect, which then deſtroyed church and ſtate. But by comparing, in my memory, what I have read in other hiſtories, he neither aggravates nor falſifies any facts. His partiality appears chiefly in ſetting the actions of Calviniſts in the ſtrongeſt light, without equally dwelling on thoſe of the other ſide; which, however, to ſay the truth, was not his proper buſineſs. And yet he might have ſpent ſome more words on the inhuman maſſacre of Paris, and other parts of France, which no provocation (and yet the king had the greateſt poſſible) could excuſe, or much extenuate.

* Written by the Dean in the beginning of the book, on one of the blank leaves.

The

The author, according to the current opinion of the age he lived in, had too high notions of regal power; led by the common miſtake of the term Supreme Magiſtrate, and not rightly diſtinguiſhing between the legiſlature and adminiſtration: into which miſtake the clergy fell, or continued, in the reign of Charles II. as I have ſhewn and explained in a treatiſe, &c.

March 6, 1727-8.

J. SWIFT.

PRE-

PREFACE

TO

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MEMOIRS.

IT was perfectly in compliance to ſome perſons for whoſe opinion I have great deference, that I ſo long withheld the publication of the following papers. They ſeemed to think, that the freedom of ſome paſſages in theſe memoirs might give offence to ſeveral who were ſtill alive; and whoſe part in thoſe affairs which are here related, could not be tranſmitted to poſterity with any advantage to their reputation. But, whether this objection be in itſelf of much weight, may perhaps be diſputed; at leaſt it ſhould have little with me, who am under no reſtraint in that particular; ſince I am not of an age to remember thoſe tranſactions, nor had any acquaintance with thoſe perſons whoſe counſels or proceedings are condemned, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this author is very free in expoſing the weakneſs and corruptions of ill miniſters, ſo he is as ready to commend the abilities and virtue of others, as may be obſerved from ſeveral paſſages of theſe memoirs; particularly, of the late earl of

Sunderland, with whom the author continued in the moſt intimate friendſhip to his death; and who was father of that moſt learned and excellent lord now ſecretary of ſtate: as likewiſe, of the preſent earl of Rocheſter; and the earl of Godolphin, now lord treaſurer, repreſented by this impartial author as a perſon at that time deſervedly entruſted with ſo great a part in the prime-miniſtry; an office he now executes again with ſuch univerſal applauſe, ſo much to the Queen's honour and his own, and to the advantage of his country, as well as of the whole confederacy.

There are two objections I have ſometimes heard to have been offered againſt thoſe memoirs that were printed in the author's life-time, and which theſe now publiſhed may perhaps be equally liable to. Firſt, as to the matter; that the author ſpeaks too much of himſelf: next, as to the ſtyle; that he affects the uſe of French words, as well as ſome turns of expreſſion peculiar to that language.

I believe, thoſe who make the former criticiſm do not well conſider the nature of memoirs: it is to the French (if I miſtake not) we chiefly owe that manner of writing; and Sir William Temple is not only the firſt, but I think the only Engliſhman (at leaſt of any conſequence) who ever attempted it. The beſt French memoirs are writ by ſuch perſons as were the principal actors in thoſe tranſactions they pretend to relate, whether of wars or negotiations. Thoſe of Sir William Tem-

Temple are of the ſame nature; and therefore, in my judgement, the publiſher (who ſent them into the world without the author's privity) gave them a wrong title, when he called them "Memoirs of "what paſſed in Chriſtendom, &c." whereas it ſhould rather have been, "Memoirs of the Treaty "at Nimeguen," which was plainly the ſenſe of the author, who in the epiſtle tells his ſon, that "in compliance with his deſire, he will leave him "ſome memoirs of what paſſed in his public em-"ployments abroad;" and in the book itſelf, when he deduces an account of the ſtate of war in Chriſtendom, he ſays it is only to prepare the reader for a relation of that famous treaty; where he and Sir Lionel Jenkins were the only mediators that continued any conſiderable time; and as the author was firſt in commiſſion, ſo in point of abilities or credit, either abroad or at home, there was no ſort of compariſon between the two perſons. Thoſe memoirs, therefore, are properly a relation of a general treaty of peace, wherein the author had the principal as well as the moſt honourable part, in quality of mediator; ſo that the frequent mention of himſelf ſeems not only excuſeable but neceſſary. The ſame may be offered in defence of the following papers; becauſe, during the greateſt part of the period they treat of, the author was in chief confidence with the King his Maſter. To which may be added, that, in the few preliminary lines at the head of the firſt page, the author profeſſes he writ thoſe papers "for the ſatisfaction

" of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds of his " retirement, and his reſolution never to meddle " again with public affairs." As to the objection againſt the ſtyle of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French words and turns of expreſſion; it is to be conſidered, that at the treaty of Nimeguen, all buſineſs, either by writing or diſcourſe, paſſed in the French tongue; and the author having lived ſo many years abroad, in that and former embaſſies, where all buſineſs, as well as converſation, ran in that language, it was hardly poſſible for him to write upon public affairs without ſome tincture of it in his ſtyle, though in his other writings there be little or nothing of it to be obſerved; and as he has often aſſured me, it was a thing he never affected; ſo, upon the objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out ſome French words in theſe, and placed Engliſh in their ſtead, though perhaps not ſo ſignificant.

There is one thing proper to inform the reader, why theſe Memoirs are called the Third Part, there having never been publiſhed but one part before, where, in the beginning, the author mentions a former part, and in the concluſion promiſes a third. The ſubject of the firſt part was chiefly the Triple Alliance, during the negotiation of which my lord Arlington was ſecretary of ſtate and chief miniſter. Sir William Temple often aſſured me, he had burnt thoſe Memoirs; and for that reaſon was content his letters, during his embaſſies at The Hague and Aix-la-Chapelle, ſhould

be

be printed after his death, in ſome manner to ſupply that loſs.

What it was that moved Sir William Temple to burn thoſe firſt Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectured from ſome paſſages in the ſecond part, formerly printed: In one place, the author has theſe words, "My lord Arlington, who made ſo "great a figure in the former part of theſe Me-"moirs, was now grown out of all credit," &c. In other parts, he tells us, "That lord was of the "miniſtry which broke the Triple League; ad-"viſed the Dutch War and French Alliance; and "in ſhort, was the bottom of all thoſe ruinous "meaſures which the court of England was then "taking;" ſo that, as I have been told from a good hand, and as it ſeems very probable, he could not think that lord a perſon fit to be celebrated for his part in forwarding that famous league while he was ſecretary of ſtate, who had made ſuch counterpaces to deſtroy it. At the end I have ſubjoined an Appendix, containing, beſide one or two other particulars, a ſpeech of Sir William Temple's in the Houſe of Commons; and an anſwer of the King's to an addreſs of that houſe relating to the bill of excluſion; both which are mentioned in theſe Memoirs.

I have only farther to inform the reader, that although theſe papers were corrected by the author, yet he had once intended to inſert ſome additions in ſeveral places, as appeared by certain hints or memorandums in the margin; but whether they

were omitted out of forgetfulneſs, neglect, or want of health, I cannot determine: one paſſage relating to Sir William Jones he was pleaſed to tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix*. The reſt I know nothing of; but the thread of the ſtory is entire without them.

* Sir William Jones was reputed one of the beſt ſpeakers in the Houſe, and was very zealous in his endeavours for promoting the bill of excluſion [in 1679]. He was a perſon of great piety and virtue; and, having taken an affection to Sir William Temple, was ſorry to ſee him employed in the delivery of ſo unacceptable a meſſage to the Houſe. The ſubſtance of what he ſaid to the author upon it was: that, "for himſelf, he was old and infirm, and expected to die ſoon: but "you," ſaid he, "will in all probability, live to ſee the whole king-"dom lament the conſequences of this meſſage you have now brought "us from the king." SWIFT, Append. to Temple, vol. II. p. 56.

DEDICATION

TO

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS,

VOL. I.

TO His moſt Sacred Majeſty, William the Third, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. Theſe Letters of Sir William Temple having been left to my care, they are moſt humbly preſented to your Majeſty, by

Your Majeſty's

Moſt dutiful

and obedient Subject,

J. SWIFT.

PREFACE

TO

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS.

THE collection of letters is owing to the diligence of Mr. Thomas Downton, who was one of the ſecretaries during the whole time wherein they bear date; and it has ſucceeded very fortunately for the public, that there is contained in them an account of all the chief tranſactions and negotiations which paſſed in Chriſtendom during the ſeven years wherein they are dated; as, the war from Holland, which began in 1665; the treaty between his majeſty and the biſhop of Munſter, with the iſſue of it; the French invaſion of Flanders in the year 1667; the peace concluded between Spain and Portugal by the king's mediation; the treaty at Breda; the Triple Alliance; the peace at Aix-la-Chapelle in the firſt part; and in the ſecond part, the negotiations in Holland in conſequence of thoſe alliances, with the ſteps and degrees by which they came to decay; the journey and death of Madam; the ſeiſure of Lorrain and his excellency's re-calling; with the firſt unkindneſs between England and Holland, upon the yacht's tranſporting his lady

lady and family; and the beginning of the ſecond Dutch war in 1672. With theſe are intermixed ſeveral letters, familiar and pleaſant.

I found the book among Sir William Temple's papers, with many other, wherewith I had the opportunity of being long converſant, having paſſed ſeveral years in his family.

I pretend no other part than the care that Mr. Downton's book ſhould be correctly tranſcribed, and the letters placed in the order they were writ. I have alſo made ſome literal amendments, eſpecially in the Latin, French, and Spaniſh; theſe I took care ſhould be tranſlated and printed in another column, for the uſe of ſuch readers as may be unacquainted with the originals. Whatever fault there may be in the tranſlation, I doubt I muſt anſwer for the greater part, and muſt leave the reſt to thoſe friends who were pleaſed to aſſiſt me. I ſpeak only of the French and Latin; for the few Spaniſh tranſlations I believe need no apology.

It is generally believed that this author has advanced our Engliſh tongue to as great a perfection as it can well bear; and yet how great a maſter he was of it, as I think, never appeared ſo much as it will in the following letters, wherein the ſtyle appears ſo very different, according to the difference of the perſons to whom they were addreſſed; either men of buſineſs or idle, of pleaſure or * ſerious, of great

* This mode of phraſeology is ungrammatical; it ſhould be—"either to men of buſineſs, or *the* idle; to *the* ſerious, or men of "pleaſure."

or

or of leſs parts or abilities, in their ſeveral ſtations; ſo that one may diſcover the characters of moſt of thoſe perſons he writes to, from the ſtyle of his letters.

At the end of each volume, is added a collection, copied by the ſame hand, of ſeveral letters to this ambaſſador, from the chief perſons employed, either at home or abroad, in theſe tranſactions, and during ſix years courſe of his negotiations; among which are many from the penſionary John De Witt, and all the writings of this kind that I know of, which remain of that miniſter, ſo renowned in his time.

It has been juſtly complained of as a defect among us, that the Engliſh tongue has produced no letters of any value; to ſupply which it has been the vein of late years, to tranſlate ſeveral out of other languages, though I think with little ſucceſs; yet, among many advantages, which might recommend this ſort of writing, it is certain that nothing is ſo capable of giving a true account of ſtories, as letters are; which deſcribe actions while they are breathing, whereas all other relations are of actions paſt and dead; ſo as it has been obſerved, that the epiſtles of Cicero to Atticus give a better account of thoſe times, than is to be found in any other writer.

In the following letters the reader will every where diſcover the force and ſpirit of this author; but that which will moſt value them to the public, both at home and abroad, is, firſt, that the matters contained

ined in them were the ground and foundation,
hereon all the wars and invaſions, as well as all
ıe negotiations and treaties of peace in Chriſten-
ɔm, have ſince been raiſed. And next, that they
e written by a perſon who had ſo great a ſhare in
l thoſe tranſactions and negotiations.

By reſiding in his family, I know the author
ıs had frequent inſtances from ſeveral great per-
ns, both at home and abroad, to publiſh ſome
lemoirs of thoſe affairs and tranſactions, which
e the ſubject of the following papers; and parti-
ılarly of the treaties of the Triple Alliance, and
ıoſe of Aix-la-Chapelle; but his uſual anſwer
as, that whatever Memoirs he had written of
ıoſe times and negotiations were burnt; however,
ıat perhaps after his death ſome papers might
ɔme out, wherein there would be ſome account
them. By which, as he has often told me, he
ıeant theſe letters.

I had begun to fit them for the preſs during the
ıthor's life, but never could prevail for leave to
ıbliſh them; though he was pleaſed to be at the
ıins of reviewing, and to give me his directions
r digeſting them in order. It has ſince pleaſed
OD to take this great and good perſon to himſelf;
ıd he having done me the honour to leave and
commend to me the care of his writings, I
ıought I could not at preſent do a greater ſervice
ı my country, or to the author's memory, than
making theſe papers public.

By

By way of introduction, I need only tak
tice, that after the peace of the Pyrenees, a
majesty's happy Restoration in 1660, there
general peace in Christendom (except only t
mainder of a war between Spain and Por
until the year 1665; when that between E
and Holland began, which produced a tre
tween his majesty and the bishop of Munster
this commences the following letters.

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD PART

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MISCELLANEA.

THE two following Eſſays, "Of Popular Diſ-"contents," and "Of Health and Long Life," were written many years before the author's death. They were reviſed and corrected by himſelf; and were deſigned to have been part of a Third Miſcellanea, to which ſome others were to have been added, if the latter part of his life had been attended with any ſufficient degree of health.

For the third paper, relating to the controverſy about "Ancient and Modern Learning," I cannot well inform the reader upon what occaſion it was writ, having been at that time in another kingdom; but it appears never to have been finiſhed by the author.

The two next papers contain the heads of two Eſſays intended to have been written upon the "Different Conditions of Life and Fortune," and upon

upon "Converſation." I have directed they ſhould be printed among the reſt, becauſe I believe there are few who will not be content to ſee even the firſt draught of any thing from this author's hand.

At the end I have added a few tranſlations from Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus, or rather imitations, done by the author above thirty years ago; whereof the firſt was printed, among other Eclogues of Virgil, in the year 1679, but without any mention of the author. They were indeed not intended to have been made public, till I was informed of ſeveral copies that were got abroad, and thoſe very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many ſpurious additions.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

PRE-

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND PART

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS.

THE following Papers are the laſt of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the author ever gave me his particular commands. They were corrected by himſelf, and fairly tranſcribed in his life-time. I have in all things followed his directions as ſtrictly as I could; but, accidents unforeſeen having ſince intervened, I have thought convenient to leſſen the bulk of this volume. To which end, I have omitted ſeveral Letters addreſſed to perſons with whom this author correſponded without any particular confidence, farther than upon account of their poſts; becauſe great numbers of ſuch Letters, procured out of the office, or by other means (how juſtifiable I ſhall not examine), have been already printed: but, running wholly upon long dry ſubjects of buſineſs, have met no other reception than merely what the

the reputation of the author would give them. If I could have foreſeen an end of this trade, I ſhould, upon ſome conſiderations, have longer forborne ſending theſe into the world. But I daily hear, that new diſcoveries of *original* Letters are haſting to the preſs: to ſtop the current of which, I am forced to an earlier publication than I deſigned. And therefore I take this occaſion to inform the reader, that theſe Letters, ending with the author's revocation from his employments abroad, (which in leſs than two years was followed by his retirement from all public buſineſs) are the laſt he ever intended for the preſs; having been ſelected by himſelf from great numbers yet lying among his papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the rhetorick of bookſellers, or any other little regards, I might eaſily, inſtead of retrenching, have made very conſiderable additions; and by that means have perhaps taken the ſureſt courſe to prevent the interloping of others. But, if the preſs muſt needs be loaded, I would rather it ſhould not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one word in the ſtyle of a publiſher, (an office liable to much cenſure without the leaſt pretenſions to merit or to praiſe) that if I have not been much deceived by others and myſelf, the Reader will hardly find one letter in this collection unworthy of the author, or which does not contain ſomething either of entertainment or of uſe.

DR.

DR. SWIFT'S REMARKS*

On "The firſt Fifteen Pſalms of David tranſlated "into † Lyric Verſe. Propoſed as an Eſſay "ſupplying the Perſpicuity and Coherence ac- "cording to the Modern Art of Poetry; not "known to have been attempted before ‡ in any "Language. With a Preface, containing ſome "Obſervations of the great and general Defec- "tives of ‖ the preſent Verſion in Greek, Latin, "and Engliſh, by Dr. [James] Gibbs §. Lon- "don, printed by J. Mathews, for J. Bartley, "over-againſt Gray's-Inn, in Holborn, 1701."

† Bagpipe. ‡ Nor I hope ever will again. ‖ this and § Sternholdides. SWIFT.

DR. GIBBS.	DR. SWIFT.
PSALM of DAVID [1], *Comparing the different ſtate of the righteous and the wicked, both in this and the next world.*	[1] I warn the reader that this is a lie, both here and all over this book; for theſe are not the Pſalms of David but of Dr. Gibbs.
THRICE happy he that does refuſe With *impious* [2] *ſinners* to combine; Who ne'er their wicked way purſues, And does the ſinner's *ſeat* [3] *decline.*	[2] But, I ſuppoſe, with *pious* ſinners a man may combine ſafely enough. [3] What part of ſpeech is it?

* By a memorandum on the firſt page it appears that theſe Remarks were thought valuable by one who muſt be allowed to have been of no inconſiderable rank both as a Poet and a Humoriſt: "The fol- "lowing Manuſcript was literally copied from the printed original, "found in the library of Dr. J. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. "The marginal Notes and Parodies were written by the Dean's own "hand, except ſuch as are diſtinguiſhed with this mark (¢), with "which I am only chargeable. Witneſs my hand, this 25th day of "February, 1745. WILLIAM DUNKIN.

"N. B. The Original was by me preſented to his Excellency Philip "Dormer Stanhope Earl of Cheſterfield, Lord Lieutenant General and "General Governor of Ireland. W. D."

DR. GIBBS.

But ſtill to learn and to obey
The law of God is his delight,
In that employ himſelf all day,
And reads and thinks thereon at [1] night.

For as a tree, whoſe ſpreading root
By ſome prolific ſtream is fed,
Produces [2] fair and lively fruit,
And numerous boughs adorn its head;

Whoſe very [3] leaves, tho' ſtorms deſcend,
In lively verdure ſtill appear:
Such bleſſings always ſhall attend
The man that does the Lord revere.

DR. SWIFT.

[1] A man muſt have ſome time to ſleep; ſo that I will change this verſe thus:

"And thinks and dreams
"thereon all night."

[2] Look ye, you muſt thin the boughs at the top, or your fruit will be neither fair nor timely.

[3] Why, what other part of a tree appears in a lively verdure, beſide the leaves? Read,

Theſe very leaves on which you ſpend
Your woeful ſtuff, may ſerve for ſquibs:
Such bleſſings always ſhall attend
The madrigals of Dr. Gibbs.

The above may ſerve for a tolerable ſpecimen of Swift's remarks. The whole ſhould be given, if it were poſſible to make them intelligible without copying the verſion which is ridiculed; a labour for which our Readers would ſcarcely thank us. A few detached ſtanzas, however, with the Dean's Notes on them, ſhall be tranſcribed.

DR. GIBBS.

Why do the heathen nations riſe,
And in mad tumults join!
Confederate kings vain plots [1] deviſe
Againſt th' Almighty's reign!

But thoſe that do thy laws refuſe,
In pieces thou ſhalt break;
[2] And with an iron ſceptre bruiſe
The diſobedient [3] *neck*.

Ye earthly kings, the caution *hear*,
Ye rulers, *learn* the ſame [4];
Serve God with reverence, and with *fear* [5]
His joyful praiſe proclaim.

DR. SWIFT.

[1] I don't believe that ever kings entered into plots and confederacies againſt the reign of God Almighty.

[2] After a man is broken in pieces, it it no great matter to have his neck bruiſed.

[3] Neak.

[4] Rulers muſt *learn* it, but Kings may only *hear* it.

[5] Very proper, to make a joyful proclamation with fear.

DR. GIBBS.

[1] For ſhould the madneſs of his foes
Th' avenging God inceníe,
Happy are they that can repoſe
In him their confidence [2].

No fears ſhall then my ſoul * depreſs,
Though thus my enemies increaſe:
[3] And therefore now ariſe, O * Lord,
And graciouſly thy help afford.

And *thus* [4] to grant a ſure defence
Belongs to God's [5] omnipotence.

But you, my frail [6] malicious foes,
Who do my power deſpiſe,
Vainly how long will ye oppoſe,
And [7] falſely calumnize!

Since thoſe alone the Lord has bleſt
Who do from ſin refrain,
He therefore grants what I requeſt [8],
And hears when I [9] complain!

Then ſhall my ſoul with more divine
And ſolid joys abound;
Than they with ſtores of corn and wine,
Thoſe earthly riches, crown'd [10].

DR. SWIFT.

[1] For ſhould the foes of
David's Ape
Provoke his grey-gooſe
quills,
Happy are they that can
eſcape
The vengeance of his
pills.

[2] Admirably reaſoned and connected!

* Depreaſe, Loard, Scotice.

[3] He deſires God's help becauſe he is not afraid of his enemies; others, I think, uſually deſire it when they *are* afraid.

[4] The Doctor has a mighty affection for the particle *thus*: he uſes it four times in this (the 3d) Pſalm, and 100 times in other places; and always wrong.

[5] That is as much as to ſay, that he that can do all things can defend a man; which I take to be an undoubted truth.

[6] Are they malicious out of frailty, or frail out of malice?

[7] That is, they ſay *falſe* things *falſely*.—I will diſcover the Doctor's ſecret of making coherence and connexions in the Pſalms, that he brags of in his title and preface: he lays violent hands on certain particles (ſuch as *and, when, ſince for, but, thus, ſo, &c.*) and preſſes them to his ſervice on all occaſions, fore againſt their wills, and without any regard whether the ſenſe will admit them or not.

[8] It is plain the Doctor never requeſted to be a poet.

[9] If your requeſts be granted, why do you complain?

[10] I have heard of a crown or garland of corn; but a crown of wine is new, and can hardly be explained, unleſs we ſuppoſe the wine to be in icicles.

DR. GIBBS.

And thus confiding, Lord, in thee,
I take my calm repoſe [1];
For thou each night protecteſt me,
From all my [2] treacherous foes.

Thy heavy hand reſtrain;
[3] With mercy, Lord, correct:
Do not ([4] as if in high diſdain)
My helpleſs ſoul reject.

For how ſhall I ſuſtain
[5] Thoſe ills which now I bear?
My vitals are conſum'd with pain,
[6] My ſoul oppreſs'd with care!

Lord, I have pray'd in [7] vain,
So long, ſo much oppreſt;
My very [8] cries increaſe my pain,
And tears prevent my reſt:

Theſe do my ſight impair,
And flowing eyes decay;
While to my enemies I fear
Thus [9] to become a prey.

If I've not ſpar'd him, though he's grown
My cauſeleſs [1] enemy;
Then let my life and fortune [2] crown
Become to him a prey.

But, Lord, thy kind aſſiſtance [3] lend;
Ariſe in my defence:
According to thy laws [4] contend
For injur'd innocence.

That all the nations that oppoſe
May then confeſs thy power;
Therefore aſſiſt my righteous cauſe,
That they may thee adore;

DR. SWIFT.

[1] And yet, to ſhew I tell no fibs,
Thou haſt left me in thrall
To Hopkins eke, and Doctor Gibbs
The vileſt rogue of all.

[2] Aye, and *open* foes too; or his repoſe would not be very calm.

[3] Thy heavy hand reſtrain;
Have mercy, Dr. Gibbs:
Do not, I pray thee, paper ſtain
With rhymes retail'd in dribbs.

[4] That bit is a moſt glorious botch.

[5] The ſqueaking of a hoggrel.

[6] To liſten to thy doggrel.

[7] The Doctor muſt mean himſelf; for, I hope, David never thought ſo.

[8] Then he is a dunce for crying.

[9] That is, he is afraid of becoming a prey to his enemies while his eyes are ſore.

[1] If he be grown his *cauſeleſs* enemy, he is no longer *guiltleſs*.

[2] He gives a thing before he has it, and gives it to him that has it already; for Saul is the perſon meant.

[3] But why *lend?* does he deſign to return it back when he has done with it?

[4] Profane raſcal! he makes it a ſtruggle and contention between God and the wicked.

For

DR. GIBBS.

For equal judgement, Lord, to thee,
The nations [1] all ſubmit;
Be therefore [2] merciful to me,
And my juſt ſoul acquit [3].

Thus, by God's gracious providence [4],
I'm ſtill preſerv'd ſecure,
Who all the good and juſt defends
With a reſiſtleſs [5] power.

All men he does with juſtice view,
And their iniquity
With direful vengeance can purſue,
Or patiently [6] paſs by.

Lo! now th' inflictions [7] they deſign'd
By others to be borne,
Even all the miſchiefs [8] in their mind,
Do on themſelves return.

O'er all the birds that mount the air,
And fiſh that in the floods appear [9].

Confounded at the ſight of thee,
My foes are put to flight [1].
Thus thou, great God of equity,
Doſt ſtill aſſert my right [2].

But God eternally remains
[3] Fixt in his throne on high,
And to the world from thence ordains
[4] Impartial equity.

DR. SWIFT.

[1] Yet, in the very verſe before, he talks of nations that *oppoſe*.

[2] Becauſe all nations ſubmit to God, therefore God muſt be merciful to Dr. Gibbs.

[3] Of what?
Poor David never could acquit
A criminal like thee,
Againſt his Pſalms who could commit
Such wicked poetry.

[4] Obſerve the connexion.

[5] That's right, Doctor; but there will be no contending, as you deſired a while ago.
'Tis wonderful that Providence
Should ſave thee from the halter,
Who haſt in numbers without ſenſe
Burleſqu'd the holy Pſalter.

[6] That is no great mark of viewing them with juſtice. God has wiſer ends for paſſing by his vengeance on the wicked, you profane dunce!

[7] Aye, but what ſort of things are theſe inflictions?

[8] If the miſchiefs be in their mind, what need they return on themſelves? are they not there already?

[9] Thoſe, I think, are not very many: they are good fiſh when they are caught, but till then we have no great ſway over them.

[1] The Doctor is miſtaken; for, when people are confounded, they cannot fly.

[2] Againſt Sternhold and Hopkins.

[3] That is falſe and prophane: God is not fixed any where.

[4] Did any body ever hear of *partial* equity?

And

DR. GIBBS.

And thus conſider ſtill, O Lord,
The juſtice of my cauſe;
Who often haſt my life [1] reſtor'd
From death's devouring jaws.

And from the barbarous [2] paths they tread,
No acts of Providence
Can e'er oblige them to recede,
Or ſtop [3] their bold offence.

And on their impious heads will pour
Of ſnares [4] and flames a diſmal ſhower;
And this their bitter cup ſhall be
[5] To drink to all eternity.

[6] But they were all perverted grown,
Polluted all with blood;
And other impious crimes: not one
Was either juſt [7] or good.

Are they ſo ſtupid [8] then, ſaid [9] God,
Who thus my [1] ſaints devour!
Theſe [2] crimes have they not underſtood,
Nor thought upon my power.

[3] O, that his aid we now might have
From Sion's holy hill,
That God the captive juſt would ſave,
And glad all Iſrael!

DR. SWIFT.

[1] Nothing is reſtored, but what has been taken away; ſo that he has been often raiſed from the dead, if this be true.

[2] The author ſhould firſt have premiſed what ſort of paths were properly barbarous. I ſuppoſe they muſt be very deep or dirty, or very rugged and ſtony; both which I myſelf have heard travellers call barbarous roads.

[3] Which is the way to ſtop an offence? would you have it ſtopt like a bottle, or a thief?

[4] A ſhower of ſnares on a man's head would do wonderful execution. However, I grant it is a ſcurvy thing enough to ſwallow them.

[5] To taſte the Doctor's poetry.

[6] But they were all perverted grown,
In ſpite of Dr. Gibbs's blood:
Of all his impious ſtrains not one
Was either juſt or good.

[7] For a man, it ſeems, may be good, and not juſt.

[8] The fault was not that they devoured ſaints, but that they were ſtupid. Q. Whether ſtupidity makes men devour ſaints, or devouring ſaints makes a man ſtupid? I believe the latter, becauſe they may be apt to lie heavy on one's ſtomach.

[9] Clod. [1] Strains.
[2] Chimes.

[3] And O that every parith clerk,
Who hums what Brady cribs
From Hopkins, would attend this work,
And glad the heart with Gibbs.

All

DR. GIBBS.

All thoſe that lead a life like this
Shall reign in everlaſting bliſs [9].

DR. GIBBS.

[9] And ſo the Doctor now may kiſs ——— !

FINIS.

Fiddling Impudent Nauſeous Illiterate Scoundrel Scot
Fooliſh Idle Nonſenſical Ignorant Sott.

At the end of the MS. is the following note,

"The above was written from the manuſcript mentioned in the firſt page, now in the hands of Nicholas Coyne, Eſq. being the only copy in the kingdom of Ireland; he having purchaſed the original, and afterwards generouſly given it to his friend Dr. Dunkin, finding the Doctor extremely uneaſy at the diſappointment the Earl of Cheſterfield was like to meet with, as he had promiſed the Earl to attend the auction, and procure it for him at any price; and is now tranſcribed by Neale Molloy, Eſq. of Dublin, by the favour of the ſaid Nicholas Coyne his brother in law, and ſent by him to his kinſman and dear friend Charles Molloy of London, Eſquire.

Dublin, May 26, 1748."

END OF VOL. XVI.

APPENDIX.

CONSULTATION of FOUR PHYSICIANS upon a LORD that was dying*.

First Doctor.

IS his Honor ſic? Præ lætus felis pulſe. It do es beat veris loto de.

Second Doctor. No notis as qui caſſi e ver fel tu metri it. Inde edit is as faſtas an alarum, ora fire bellat nite.

Third Doctor. It is veri hei!

Fourth Doctor. Noto contra dictu in my juge mentitis veri loto de. Itis as orto maladi ſum callet. [Here e ver id octo reti reſto a par lori na mel an coli poſt ure.]

First Doctor. It is a me gri mas I opi ne.

* As Swift did not partake of the uſual amuſements of the world, for recreation, he indulged himſelf in various ſports and whims of fancy. Among others he was fond of a new ſpecies of compoſition, which conſiſted all of Latin words, but by allowing for falſe ſpelling, and running the words into each other, the ſentences would contain good ſenſe in Engliſh. It was thought ſome ſpecimens of this ſingular mode of writing would not be unacceptable to the reader. I ſhall here point out, in the two firſt ſentences the manner in which they are to be read into Engliſh.

First Doctor.

Is his honour ſick? Pray let us feel his pulſe. It does beat very ſlow to day.

Second Doctor. No no 'tis as quick as I ever felt; you may try it. Indeed it is as faſt as an alarum, or a fire bell at night, &c.

Second Doctor. No docto rite quit fora quin ſi. Heris a plane ſim tomo ſit. Sorites Para celſus; Præ re adit.

Firſt Doctor. Nono Doctor I ne ver quo te aqua caſu do.

Second Doctor. Sum arſo: Mi autoris no ne.

Third Doctor. No quare lingat præ ſenti de ſi re. His honor is ſic offa Colli caſure as I ſit here.

Fourth Doctor. It is æther an atro phi ora colli caſu ſed: Ire membri re ad it in Doctor me ades Eſſe, here itis.

Third Doctor. I ne ver re ad apage in it, no re ver in tendit.

Second Doctor. Fer ne is offa qui te di ferent noti o nas i here.

Firſt Doctor. Notis ab ludi fluxit is veri plene.

Second Doctor. I fitis a fluxit me re qui re ac lis ter.

Third Doctor. I a ver his caſis venere alas i diſco ver edit in as hanc cor; an da poli pus in his noſce. An di fit be as I cetis, ago no rea me en ſue.

Firſt Doctor. It is ad ange rus caſas ani.

Fourth Doctor. I mus tellure alitis ago uti humor in his Bel li. Hi ſto macto is empti.

Firſt Doctor. It me bea pluri ſi; avo metis veri pro per fora manat his age.

Second Doctor. Ure par donat præſenti des ire; His dis eas is a cata ride clare it.

Third Doctor. Atlas tame findit as tone in his quid ni es.

Fourth Doctor. Itis ale pro ſi fora uti ſe. Præ hos his a poti cari; cantu tellus? Ab lis ter me bene ceſſa riſum de cens. Itis as ure medi in manicas es.

Third Doctor. I findit iſto late tot hinc offa reme di; fori here his Honor is De ad.

Second Doctor. His ti meis cum.

Firſt Doctor. Is it trudo ut hinc?

Fourth Doctor. It is veri certa in. His Paris his Belli ſto ringo ut foris de partu re.

Third Doctor. Næ, i fis Ecce lens is de ad lætus en dum apri eſto præ foris ſole. His Honor has bina Cato liquor a de iſti here.

Firſt Doctor. Alor dis ſum times as tingi as an uſu reris.

Second Doctor. Api ſtolis alligo time a verbi mi at endans for a forte nite.

Third Doctor. O mei ne vera tendo na nil ordinis ſic nes ani more.

Fourth Doctor. Api ſtolis ne a quin in a nil ordo fis qua liti; ſum pes fore times more. It iſtos mala ſito a Doctor o fis hic.

Second Doctor. Lætus paco fitis time.

Firſt Doctor. Abigo ditis hi time, in de editis, forus alto fallas campe ringo fas faſtas arato ut offa da iri; fori fera bea tinge veri minute; bimi ſolido. His lac quis, an das turdis auſſi ſto ut valet is re di forus.

Second Doctor. Ali feris ab aſt in a do; fori here ano is at adis ſtans.

A LOVE SONG.

APUD in is almi de ſi re,
Mimis tres I ne ver re qui re,
Alo veri findit a geſtis,
His miſeri ne ver at reſtis.

AN EPIGRAM.

DIC, heris agro at, an da quar to fine ale,
Fora ringat ure nos, an da ſtringat ure tale.

To SAMUEL BINDON, Esq.

MOLLIS abuti,
Has an acuti,
No lasso finis,
Molli divinis.
Omi de armis tres,
Imi na dis tres.
Cantu disco ver
Meas alo ver?

In like manner he ſometimes tried to write Engliſh words to be read into Latin, of which the following is an inſtance.

To the Rev. Mr. SHERIDAN.

Terſe I ow I ane you are wry,

Am I ſay vain a Rabble is,

GAUDY o tea rue ry dy you ſale you tye in ſervice he: Said lynk way mere Aſs, eat red Eye, add noſe ſight O*. Quipp ye knife all or tame Puſs Eaſt. Tea Mary Tuck Sr; Tea may rent Family are eaſe. Anne lewd is cart is? Veal ſome no ill dull jeſt I? Anne Io Cuz ty by place eat? Meer Rum ſpare O Freak went her Bib is: Lack Tea compleat: Ayd is, ride eaſe, Lock were is, do neck fat I gat us eaſe. A wry Debt nay, Rage in a eat may right us tye by? Do my Tea here I Eggs peck't have I*; ſaid may day ſay piſt I. Uſquebach come aen Aſs; Force an I buy aſs her o buſs Eaſt; Codd mark a Toryes nice Eye aſs I dumb mine I may hay bent. Said poſt hoſe Dairy lick toes add noſe vain I. You buy inn do mow Day can at us bone um Salt 'em by beam us, ſign on Mealy o'r'em fall or no.

* As a clue to the above, I ſhall point out in what manner the firſt ſentence is to be read, leaving it to the reader's ingenuity to find out the reſt.

Amice venerabilis,

Gaudeo te ruri diu ſaluti inſerviſſe, ſed linquamur eas, & redi ad nos cito, &c.

Satyr

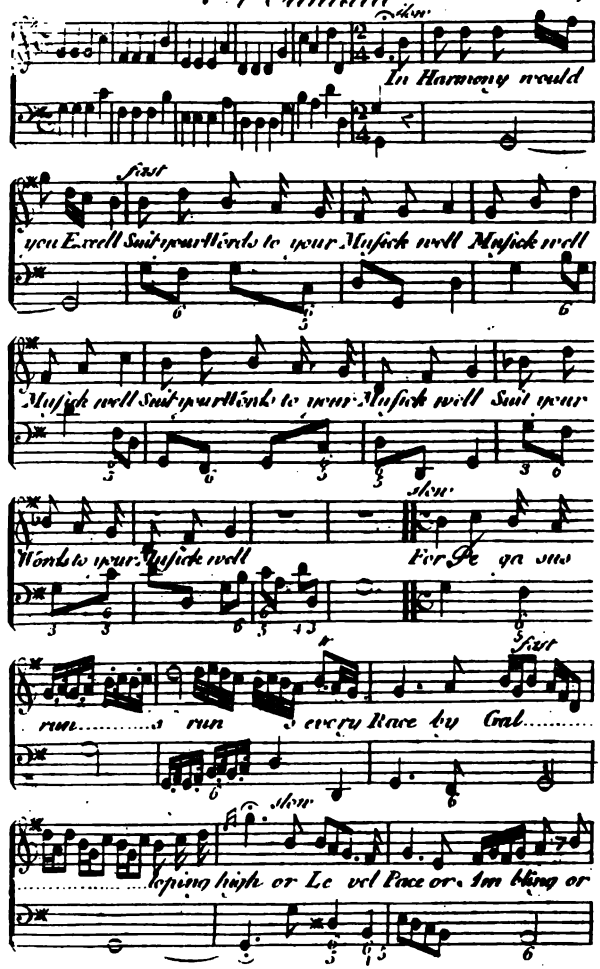
Satyr nigh, dye eaſe noſe ty feaſt us eaſt. May come air is; Sigh mull ſoke ray to Carmen a Pan game us. Ride end 'um, buy bend 'um e'r it come ſo dayly buſs; nigh leaſt carry us invite a.

Sick Dice it Whore ah ſee us:
Spare take um Sick way pot you it wag and Team
Fall e'er he taſt a.

Et a lye by:
Back 'um in Ray mote is Carrmen are you Pye-buſs.
Said;
For tune a lay to ſave an egg o ſhow.

Sate I ſope I nor ſight ha' ſhown um: add fine 'em proper and 'um Eaſt. Valiant a Mice I Veſtry, eat you in Shoe pair vally Aſs.

Ah my Cuz veſt are,
Day can us.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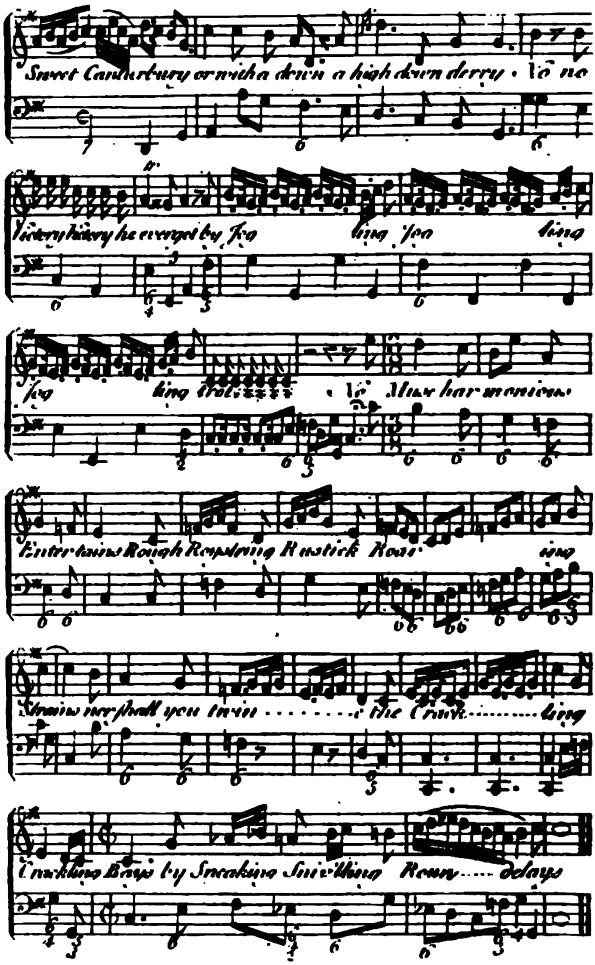
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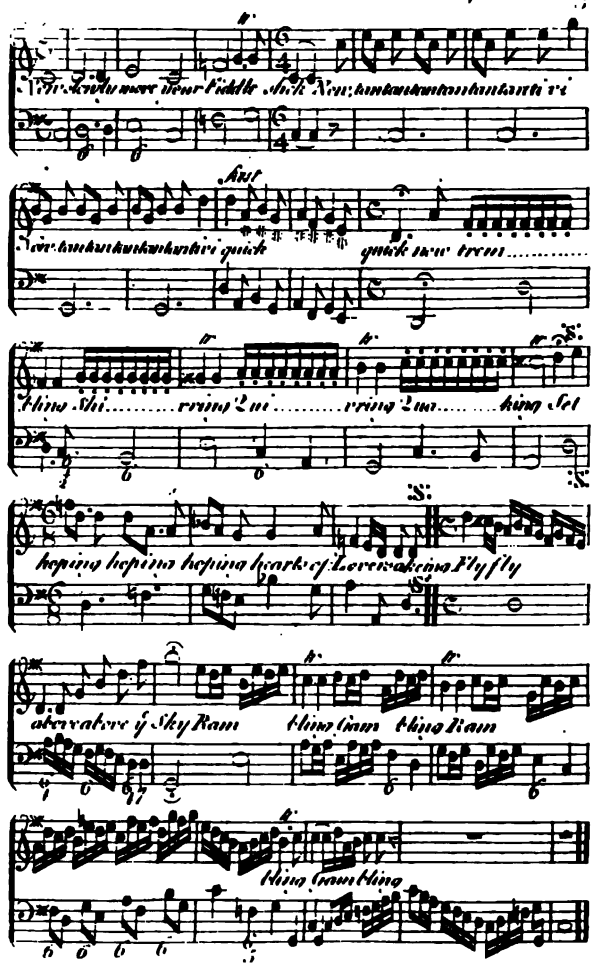
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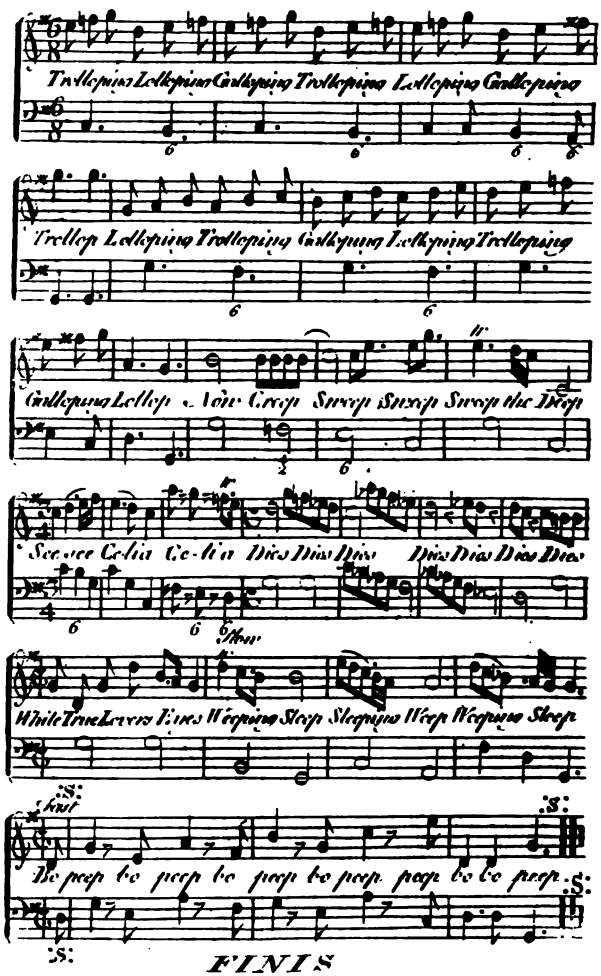
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FINIS

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